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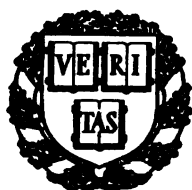
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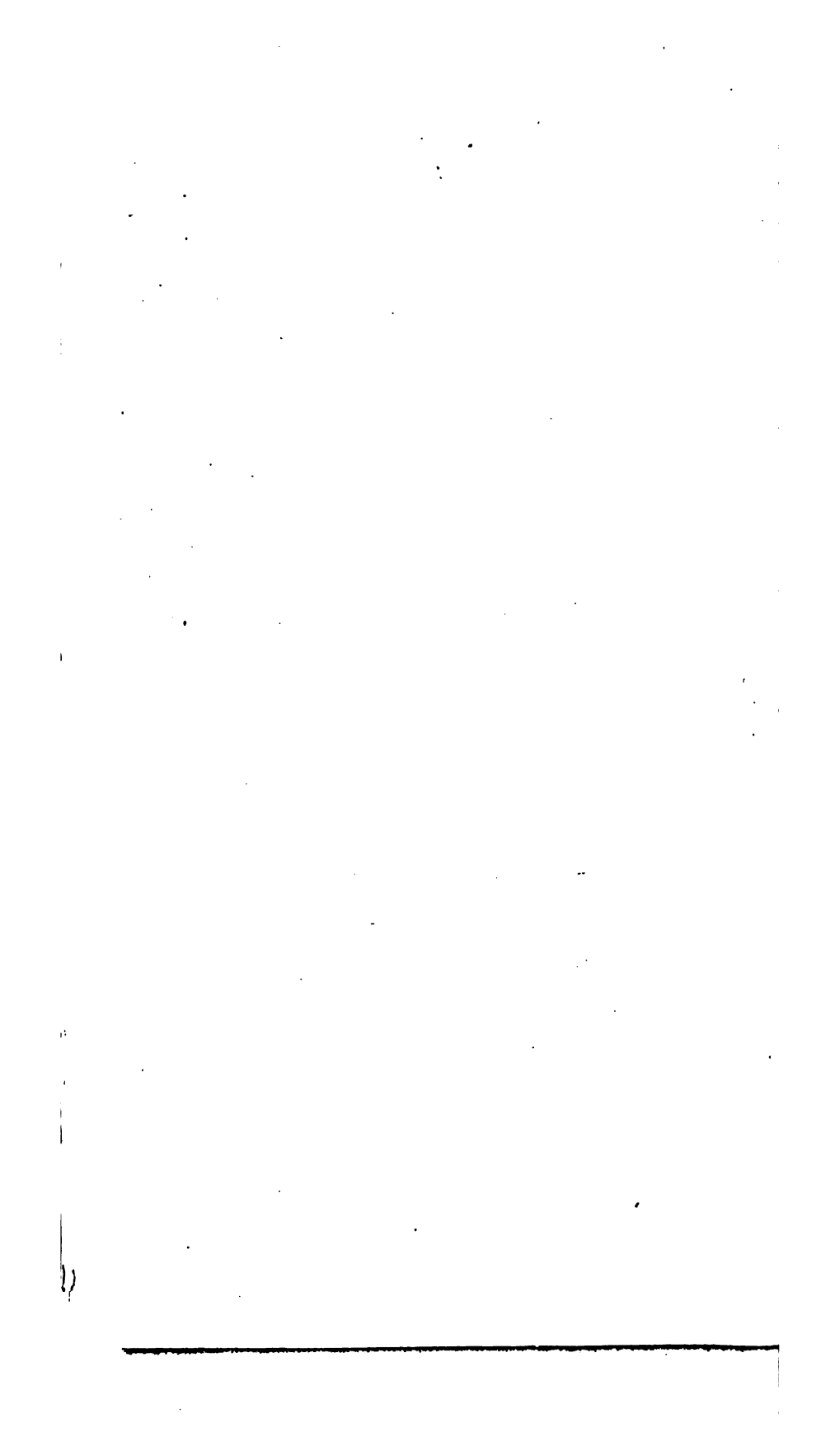
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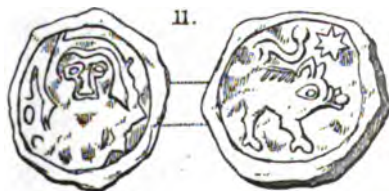
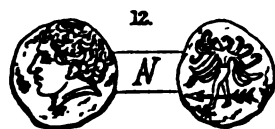
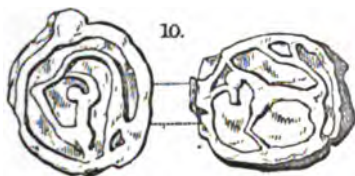
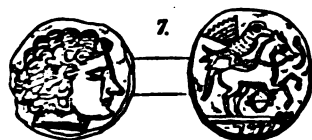
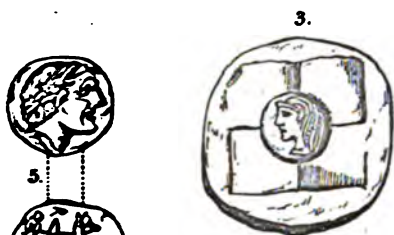
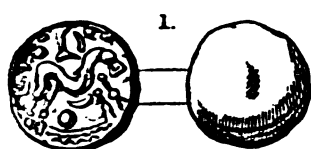
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BEGUN IN 1858

16 Jan. 1902.





11
ESSAYS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

PHILOLOGICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, ETHNOLOGICAL,
AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL,

CONNECTED WITH

THE PREHISTORICAL RECORDS

OF

THE CIVILIZED NATIONS OF ANCIENT EUROPE, ESPECIALLY OF
THAT RACE WHICH FIRST OCCUPIED GREAT BRITAIN.

BY

JOHN WILLIAMS, A.M., OXON.,

ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN;

*Author of "Homerus," "Gomer," and of the Lives of Julius Caesar, and Alexander
the Great, &c. &c.*

LONDON:

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

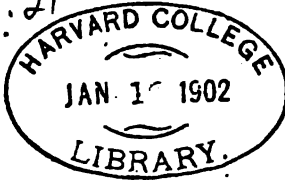
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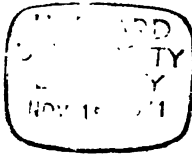
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PREFACE.

HAVING just published a volume of discourses "On the Unity of God's Will as revealed in Scripture; and on the Necessity laid upon all Christian Communities of acknowledging such Will as the only Rule of Life, with special Reference to God's Dealings with Christianized Britain,"¹ I publish the several papers contained in the present volume, as embodying my views of the non-scriptural evidence of the same truths, as deducible from documents and monuments, both historical and prehistorical, which I have had an opportunity of examining. In the dedication to the Lord Bishop of London of the above-mentioned volume, I have given the following statement of my views upon the subject:—

"I hold that the first man, as an intellectual, moral, and spiritual being, had nothing to learn from experience; that, as a labourer in the struggle against matter, he had almost everything to learn; and that the triumphs of man over the material world, and which are daily in a greater or less degree obtained, will never give him, individually, more intellectual, moral, and spiritual knowledge, than was possessed by the first Adam; that a school opposite to mine expects new teaching to be discovered on this same field from modern experience; and that the spirit of the age is indeed a light

¹ London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place; 1857.

from heaven, which may be assumed by us as a safe guide, superseding the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, and be proclaimed the gospel of the nineteenth century. The spirit of the age is nevertheless no gospel, but embodies a great truth. Materially we are fulfilling our vocations, and subduing and replenishing the earth; but intellectually, morally, and spiritually speaking, we derive no benefits from the modern triumphs of art and science. Excitement, encouragement, and enlarged powers for diffusing the blessings of the Revelation in Christ, we undoubtedly do derive; and may God grant us his grace to render our triumphs over matter subservient to the spread of truth, as embodied in the traditions of the patriarchs, typified and declared by Moses and the prophets, and finally developed in the everlasting gospel."

I also quoted from the works of Plutarch, a passage which proves that the same great truths had been traditionally preserved among the historical heathens down to the time of Christ's first advent:—"For," writes the philosopher, "we must not ascribe the work of creation to certain lifeless particles of matter, as Epicurus has done, nor say, with the Stoics, that one divine foreknowledge binds and fetters all things in one inviolable law of consequences. For it is impossible that there should be any evil, if the Being vested with the fettering foreknowledge should be good, or that there should be any good, should this same principle be evil. Wherefore, that very ancient doctrine which we cannot refer to any author, but of which the belief is strong and ineffaceable, not only in words and expressions, but is developed everywhere, both among Greeks and Barbarians, in their mysterious initiations and sacrifices; that there is more than one principle acting in the government of the universe—in fact, that there are two antagonistic principles, of which one guides man to the right

along the straight road, the other leads him astray into various byways and errors.

He, in a following passage, tells us that there was an equally strong tradition, that "at a destined period the evil principle would either be destroyed or made to disappear; and that this earth, freed from all inequalities and rugged barrenness, should become the happy residence of innocent beings, all forming one political state, and speaking one language."

The great truths here recorded will receive further elucidation from several of the papers published in this volume. I refer especially to the papers, "On the Early Intercourse between the Eastern and the Western World," "On the Connection between Hellas and Britain," "A few Observations on certain Ancient Traditions," and "On the Antiquity of Celtic Coins," a subject which, in the hands of the great continental numismatical writers, has thrown new light upon the secret tenets of the Druidical teachers of the Western world.

I have also held and taught, that "it must have been in consequence of some extraordinary delusion, that so many Christian scholars sought for the origin of Hellenic doctrines in the several details of the Mosaic law, and the revelations subsequent to its establishment. According to my belief, all the doctrines and practices common to the Hellenic and Hebrew nations, are to be traced to a common source—the patriarchal traditions; while the Mosaic dispensation, with its peculiar laws and customs, was a close system divinely provided to keep one people distinct from other nations, by building a wall of separation between them and all with whom they were likely to be brought in contact. And that the great difficulty under this theocratic system was to prevent the Israelites from adopting the corrupt traditions of their heathen neighbours, who are never described as in-

clined to derive any pure knowledge from the hateful and, as they deemed them, 'godless' followers of Moses."

This subject is amply illustrated in the paper "On Primitive Tradition" in the present volume, which recapitulates most of the doctrines propounded by me in my *Homerus*, Part I. I may add, that the importance of the poems of the Homeric age, as forming a body of documents whence not only amusement and intellectual enjoyment of the highest character can be derived, but also as the source whence much valuable instruction, for the purposes both of private and public life, may be drawn, has been fully recognized in the popular and admirable paper published in the *Oxford Essays*, by W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P. A writer of the same school has, in a similar article, which appeared in a late number of the *Quarterly Review*, clearly proved that the tone of moral and political principles displayed by the writers of the Homeric age, is far more healthy and elevated than that of the Euripidean age, when æsthetic art had won its most splendid triumphs in dramatic poetry, in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

My doctrine respecting the language in which Moses and the prophets embodied their revelations, went still further, and I held that it also was, comparatively speaking, a language of separation, and that the long-continued effort to trace the various dialects of the Western world to a Hebrew source, is not among the least striking of the extent to which the errors of good and wise men may be carried, should they commence their inquiries with an inveterate prejudice. And of this character was the glossolatriy with which the language of Moses was long and extensively honoured. Should any one language be rationally deemed more worthy than another, it was assuredly that language which the Holy Ghost selected

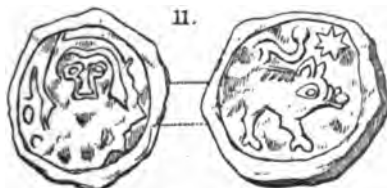
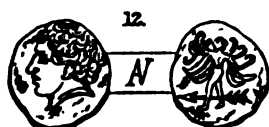
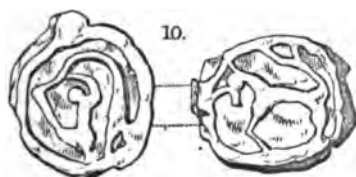
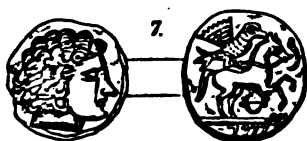
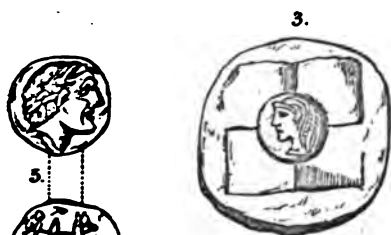
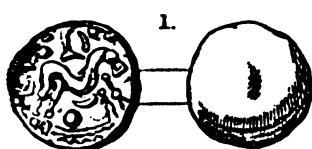
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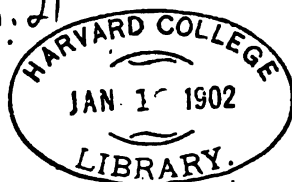
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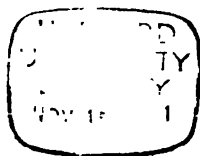
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FAC-SIMILES FROM MANUSCRIPTS.

A warrior's song, transcribed at the end of the VIIIth or the commencement of the IXth century
(Taken from the Cambridge Juvenius, pages 48, 49, 50.)

nizuroroyam nemhēunaur hēnoid mīzēu nūzūmāur mīāmīdam anclaur
^{ifranē}
 nūlanunizuar dam nūcūyam hēnoid cēt ibē mēl nouel mīāmīfranē dam aipatel
 namēpētē mīnēp legūchid hēnoid rēdūrgur mīcoudid don nam pūcūp un zūfēid

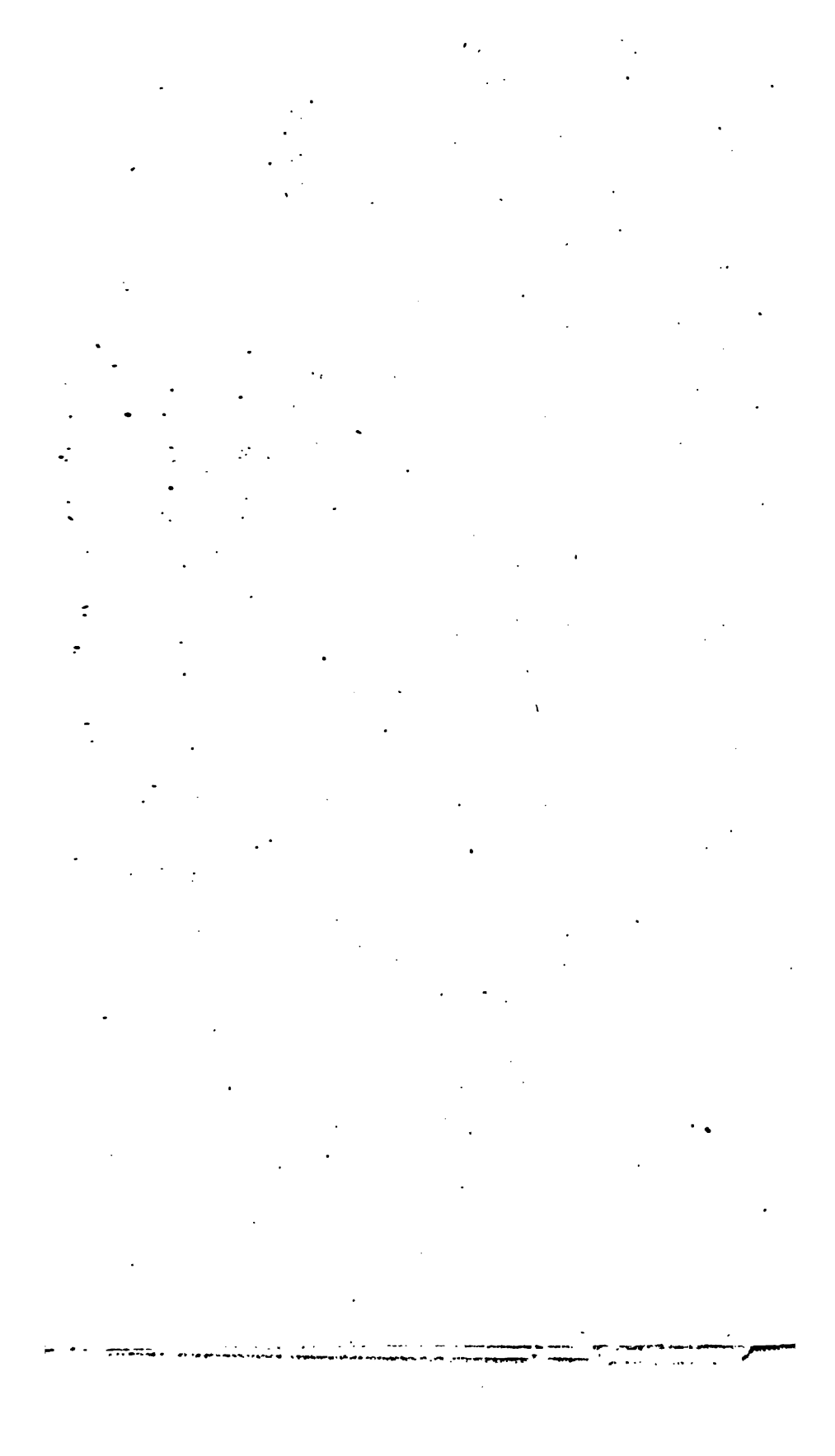
Grammar of Eutychnus with glosses, in the hand-writing of the first years of the IXth century
(Bodleian N^o 31 fol. 4, 5 and 8.)

blandmīf.ordior .rō^{ranām} larayon .grūfōrtior .partior .hēc

^{metra.}
 teōf mērgō .merges

^{guy.}
 doctrina .tandeo .tonior .centrux .confund .toxor .extreue

^{angusendm.}
 orlācco .laccar .hē .q̄q .uē uigil .uigil .o .at .exul .exulo .at



an. lxx.

an.

an. Bellū badonū inq^o
archur porcauit enī
dñi nři ihu xpī. trib;
dieb; & trib; noctib;
inhumeros suos &
britones in cōres suos.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an. Sct colūille natē.
An crīeē brigide.

an.

an.

an. lxxx.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

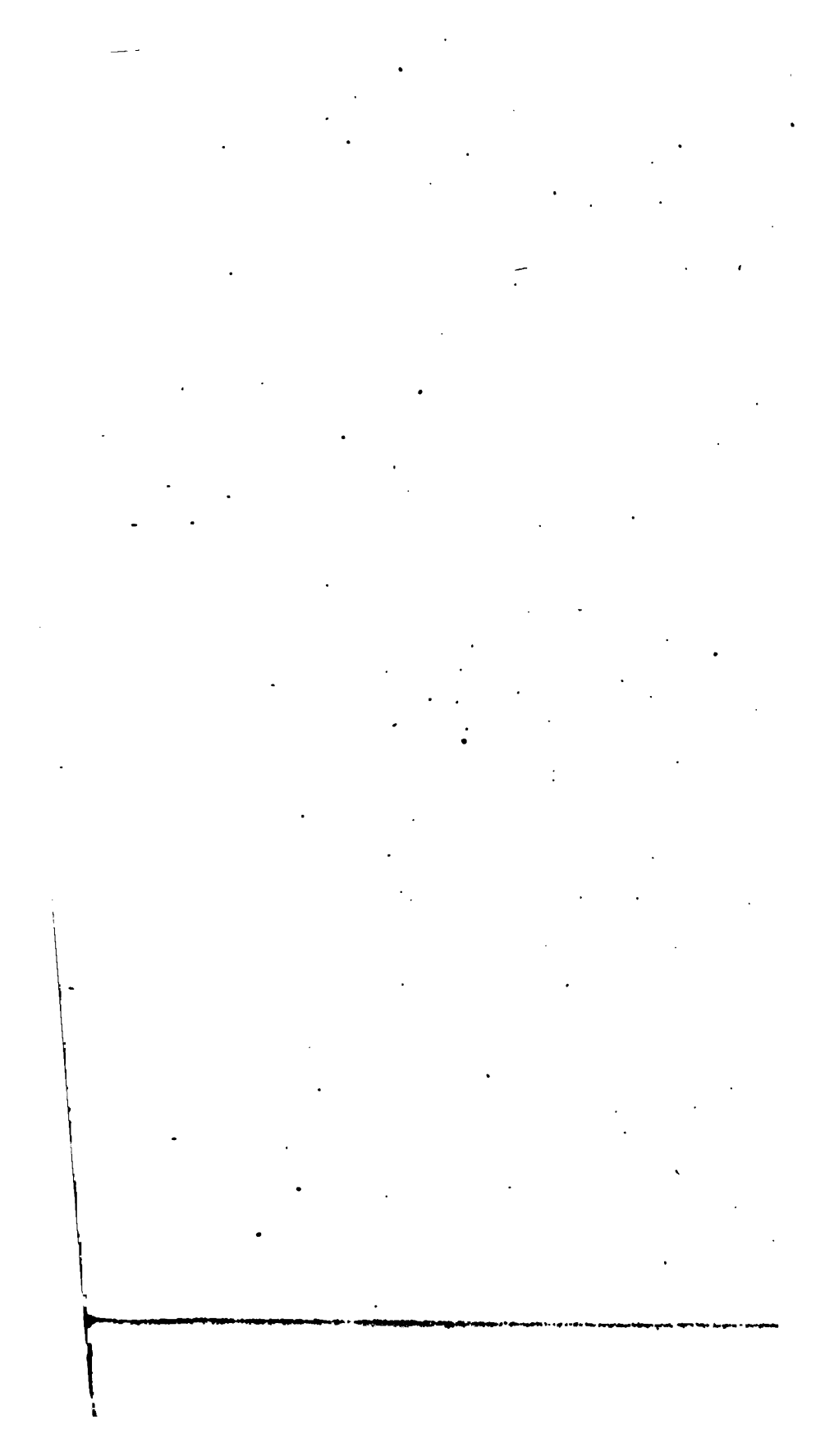
an. xc.

an.

an.

an. Gueth cā lan^a inq^a
archur a me dñi
corruer. & morabitur





FAC-SIMILES FROM MANUSCRIPTS.

A warrior's song, transcribed at the end of the VIIIth or the commencement of the IXth century
(Taken from the Cambridge Juvenius, pages 48, 49, 50.)

nizwopcoram nemhewunur hēnoid mī tēlu nēzupmēur mīam^{franc} amāncilaur
nītanunizwāpām nīcūyām hēnoid cēz ibēn mēd nouel mīamfranc dām awpārel
namēpētīc im nēp lēzūēnīd hēnoid nēdūyūn mīcūēdīd dōn nam pīcēur unzūēlīd

Grammar of Eutychnus with glosses, in the hand-writing of the first years of the IXth century
(Bodleian N^o 31 fol. 4, 5 and 8.)

bland mīf. ordior. rō^{tanam} largior. gūf^{morria} fortior. pārtior. hēc

teyof mēzō. mērges

doctīna. tōndlo. tōnfōr tōncrux tōnfund. tōxtor tēxturē

angustior.

enlācō. lācār. mīc. qā. wē uigil. uigil. uigil. o. f. exēl. exēl. o. d.



an. lxx.

an.

an. Bellū badonū inq^o
archiur porcauit enīcē
dñi nri ihu xpi. tñb;
dieb; & tñb; noctib;
inhumerot suos &
brittones inctores fuer.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an. Sct colūcille natē.
Auctē tēcē brigide.

an.

an.

an. lxxx.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an.

an. xc.

an.

an. Gueth cā lan^u inq^o
archiur & medruur
corruer. & moreallat



A Latm-Breton Vocabulary transcribed at the end of the Xth or beginning of the XIth century
(Bodleian N^o 572, fol. 42.)

[illegible]

Cornish Mysteries written in the XVth century.

(Bodleian N° 2639. fol.1.)

Théurgie Ormale De Origine mundi.
(Bodleian N° 2639. fol.1.)

富

En tas anef ym gplebyr. formpoytup 4 a abay 86 / por
 Quachay on yn gbyr en tas gan nyp gan poy por
 Ga'gethyb me a ttef ym. Dy o8 g'atth dathaf an dyp 8 -
 ylanayaf nafi ga tpyr-betheno formpoy 86 oztto 86 Gpyo 2.

Ancient Poems transcribed about the middle of the XIIth century.
(Black Book of Carmarthen, fol. 36.)

Rac gereino gelin kyrtur. y gneleste
march can cymeur. Agvedy gaur garv achlir
Rae gereint gelu dihas. gyeleste menty canr
ne oka. Agnyth gaur garv pyllas.



ESSAYS,

&c.

ON CARN GOCH, IN CAERMARTHENSHIRE.

No portion of Wales is more interesting to the general inquirer, more suggestive to the native antiquary, than the region which our ancient historians loved to designate as the principality of Ystrad-Tywy, or Stratywy. Geographically described, it may be regarded as the basin, or rather succession of basins, drained by the river Towy and its tributaries. And although the county of Caermarthen extends beyond these natural limits, nevertheless, almost everything remarkable within its confines is to be found in the vale of Towy, and its adjacent slopes and mountains.

It would be an endless task to enumerate the various objects commemorative of man and his labours which are scattered in profusion among these picturesque valleys and gently swelling hills. But it may be said that we have still remaining every specimen of the work of man which antiquarians prize, and the historian would willingly explain. The remains are still visible of the monumental works of the first inhabitants of these islands, of the primitive fortress, the stone circle, with its accompaniments the "maen hir," the "cromlech," &c.; of the camps, roads, and settlements of the Romans; of the British Church, established in these districts previous to

the arrival of the Romish Augustine and his retinue. Many localities are still connected with the name of Merlin and his contemporaries, and of the British saints of the Arthurian period in the sixth century. The ruins of numerous ecclesiastical foundations, abbeys, priories, and convents, together with the still imposing grandeur of Norman castles, and castellated mansions, testify the medieval predominance of religious rites and practices, and of a foreign despotism hateful to the primitive inhabitants, and which alike have passed away. But most of these records of former ages have not been sufficiently illustrated by the pen or the pencil, and may be said to be still enveloped in gloom and darkness,

Carent quia vate sacro.

During my residence at Llandovery I personally visited most of these remains, and would willingly, had I enjoyed due leisure, have attempted to make them more generally known. But that leisure I did not enjoy; and all that I could do was to call public attention to a subject which, if properly illustrated, would lend new charms to the lovely scenery through which the Towy, whether bursting through its rocky barriers, or quietly meandering through luxuriant meadows, flows back to its parent sea.

It is therefore not with the hope of satisfying, but rather of exciting, public curiosity, that I submit to the Association the following slight notice of a memorable object of antiquarian research, called "Carn Goch," with the hope that when the Association meets, as it soon should meet, at Llandeilo-fawr, in the immediate vicinity of this and other remarkable objects, they may be fully investigated, and adequately delineated, by the combined aid of art and science.

I hold Carn Goch to be a primitive fortress of great antiquity, probably constructed by those adventurers who first occupied this island as a place of settlement. At whatever period that event took place, the original settlers would probably have found this island, as history has described similar

regions, under similar circumstances : the lowlands consisting principally of lagoons, lakes, and marshes, and the slopes and moderate hills covered with a primeval forest. Necessity, therefore, must have compelled the first dwellers in the land to have fixed their primary habitation on high grounds, cleared of their natural growth of wood ; and both tradition and history seem to agree that the first settlements of mankind were upon the hills. I need not refer here to Plato's description of the migration of the original Ilium from the summits of Ida, first to a station intervening midway between it and the seashore ; and, secondly, to the position in the plain where the Ilium of Priam was built ; nor to still prevalent tradition, which deduces all the subsequent cities of Asia from the original settlement of Noah on the Armenian mountains. We have only to examine our own country to enable us to conclude that the hill was occupied long before the plain ; and we have, still visible, traces of the plough on hilly spots, which, ever since the memory of man, have remained untorn by the ploughshare. But on this subject I prefer to quote the following passage from Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 123 :—

“ In various districts of the same neighbourhood, the curious traveller may descry, amid the desolate heath, indications on the hill-sides of a degree of cultivation having existed at some period far beyond what is exhibited in that locality at present. The soil on the sloping sides of the hills appears to have been retained by dwarf walls, and these singular terraces occur frequently at such altitudes as must convey a vivid idea of the extent and industry of an ancient population, where now the grazing of a few black cattle alone tempts to the claim of property in the soil. In other districts, the half-obliterated furrows are still traceable on heights which have been abandoned for ages to the wild fox or the eagle. . . . The very simple explanation of such ancient plough-marks, which has satisfied the popular mind, is apparent in the appellation of ‘ Elf-furrows,’ by which they are popularly known.”

He then quotes the following passages from the statistical account of a clergyman in Galloway, who thus wrote about a century ago :—

“ It is to be observed that there are few hills in this part of Galloway, where cultivation is at all practicable, that do not bear distinct marks of the

plough. The depths of the furrows plainly declare that this tillage has not been casual, or merely experimental, but frequent and successive."

The minister then adds that there was another popular tradition that

"A Pope, in interdicting agriculture in Scotland, had forgotten to include the hills in the terms of the curse, which were thus left open to cultivation when all the plains were left barren."

"This rustic tradition," adds Mr. Wilson, "though amusing enough, is not without its value to us, from the proof it affords of the extent to which such traces must have existed, when they made so great an impression upon the popular mind."

Nor are these marks of ancient cultivation in higher grounds, and of cities occupying lofty sites, peculiar to this island. Grote, in his *History of Greece*, describes the existence of something similar both in European and Asiatic Hellas, vol. ii. page 145. Although, according to his theory, which he has borrowed from Thucydides, and which, nevertheless, suits only part of the facts, namely, the occupation of a stronghold at a moderate distance from the seashore, the causes which produced this effect are different from my own views of the subject:—

"Fortifications are a feature of the age deserving considerable notice. There was a time, we are told, in which the primitive Greek towns or villages derived a precarious security, not from their walls, but merely from sites lofty and difficult of access. They were not built immediately upon the shore, or close upon any convenient landing-place, but at some distance inland, on a rock, or elevation, which could not be approached without notice, or scaled without difficulty. It was thought sufficient at that time to guard against piratical or marauding surprise. . . . Thebes, Athens, Argos, belonged to this class of cities; but there were, in many parts of Greece, deserted sites on hill-tops, still retaining, even in historical times, the traces of former habitations, and some of them still bearing the names of the old towns. Among the mountainous parts of Crete, in Ægina and Rhodes, in portions of Mount Ida and Mount Parnassus, similar remnants might be perceived. Probably in such primitive hill villages a continuous circle of wall would hardly be required as an additional means of defence, and would often be rendered very difficult by the rugged nature of the ground."

It is in such regions as the latter, that remains similar to those on Carn Goch should be sought, and thence should comparative illustrations of their age and authors be drawn. They

may truly be called wrecks of older structures, reared in those dim and remote eras, into the secrets of which we long to penetrate; for

"Cold is all history, and lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears. How many pages of doubtful record might we not often spare for a few stones left one upon another. The ambition of the old Babel builders was well directed for this world. There are but two strong conquerors of the forgetfulness of men—poetry and architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality. It is well to have not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld all the days of their life."

Wilson, after quoting this eloquent passage from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps*, adds,—

"The Scottish Catherthun is no Athenian Acropolis, and our monolithic temples, though not ineloquent memorials of their builders, must rank with the primeval structures of Greece, and not with her Parthenon or Colonna. But our aboriginal strongholds, although of a sufficiently rude and primitive character, must not be overlooked in reviewing those conquerors of the forgetfulness of men."

Carn Goch is a detached mountain on the left bank of the Towy, which commands a striking and extensive view of the course of that river. The spectator, looking down, sees the bold promontory of Dynevor, the graceful coronet of Grongar, and many a distant hill. The summit of this detached mountain is crowned with the ruins of an immense fortress, which nothing but a strong effort of concentrated power could have constructed. It is formed of two distinct camps, surrounded by masses of stones, which, at the present day, show no signs that they were built up into regular walls, and nothing but an investigation of their foundations will enable us to come to any satisfactory conclusion respecting their original formation.

The larger enclosure has a wall, such as before described, about half a mile, or perhaps more, in circumference. In the centre of this enclosure, there is a plashy pool usually full of water, and whence the occupiers of the fort could be plentifully supplied. At the lower end of this pool appear ruined

heaps of stones, which have all the appearance of having once served as the foundations of buildings.

The great mass of stones is within the greater enclosure, and might have served as its citadel. The name of Carn Goch is evidently derived from this elevation, which, when seen from various points, assumes a pyramidical form. The side of the fortress facing the Black Mountain is abrupt and precipitous in most parts, and looks down upon a large space of ground, which has all the appearance of having been once covered with buildings, under the immediate protection of the fortress, as the masses of stones, which encumber the whole ground, present indications of ruined foundations. In the centre of this ground appears a round stone carn, which does not appear to have ever been violated, and, consequently, deserves examination. In the face of the greater fortress which looks to the lesser, there is a spacious entrance or gateway, flanked by enormous masses which might have once been towers. The rock which forms the basement of this entrance, bears marks of great traffic, and is in parts deeply rutted. At the opposite extremity is a corresponding entrance, from which may be traced a well-defined ancient trackway leading up the river.

The lesser enclosure, which served as an outpost to the greater, and is also commanded by it, is not to be compared to its principal, although in itself a work of great labour and strength. To be duly appreciated, the remains should be surveyed and planned by a military engineer of competent skill; and I see no reason why the barracks of Caermarthen or Brecon might not furnish such a person, well qualified for such a work. The distance from Brecon is about thirty, from Caermarthen about seventeen, miles.

General Roy, the great military authority in the North, bestowed no small care and attention upon a similar work in Strathmore, the construction and details of which will be best understood by a reference to the plans and sections in the General's *Military Antiquities*. It is also engraved and de-

scribed by King in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, and by Pennant, in his *Tour through Scotland*; while Carn Goch has been unnoticed alike by antiquarians and tourists. Mr. Wilson, in reference to Catherthun, thus writes :—

“But the most remarkable British fort to the north of the Tweed, if not, indeed, of the whole island, is that which crowns the summit of Catherthun, looking across the valley of Strathmore. It is an elaborate, skilfully constructed stronghold, which must have formed a place of great strength, when held by a hardy and well-armed native garrison. It is an oval form, enclosing an inner area of 436 feet in length, by 200 feet in breadth. But this constitutes only what may be regarded as the citadel. Beyond it, a succession of ramparts and ditches surrounds the height at lower elevations, including a much larger area, and affording scope for a more numerous body of defenders. The hollow is still visible, though now nearly filled up, which was once the well of the fort; and probably this strength was maintained as a rendezvous and place of temporary retreat for the entire population of the surrounding districts. These military works have been constructed with immense labour. The astonishing dimensions of the ramparts, composed of an accumulation of loose stones, upwards of a hundred feet thick at the base, and fully twenty-five thick at the top, excite surprise and wonder in the mind of every observer.”

General Roy remarks, after a careful survey of it :—

“The vast labour it must have cost to amass so incredible a quantity of stones, and carry them to such a height, surpasses all description.”

I boldly affirm that what General Roy has thus expressed respecting the British stronghold in Scotland, is equally applicable to the cognate fortress in Stratywy.

They both belong to a prehistoric period, and are, as I believe, contemporary with the megalithic structures which are to be found in their vicinity. Triliths; on a small scale, are still visible on Carn Goch. But conquerors of time, as these ancient structures are, have they no moral lessons committed to their trust, no religious feelings to suggest?

If the construction of the stone hammer, the flint knife, of the bow and arrow, and other weapons offensive and defensive, is generally accepted as the earliest evidence afforded by man of his superiority, in his most helpless state, to the beasts over whom he thus exercises dominion, must we not necessarily infer that works of this magnitude, evidently constructed

for defensive rather than offensive purposes, must have originated among people who had as strong convictions as we have, that social union depends for its support upon some compact, expressed or understood, for the establishment of a system of mutual defence, whether the disturbers be refractory and disorderly members of the community, such as are to be found in all new settlements, or foreign aggressors from without? All such constructions speak of families and homes, of social union, political ties, and of religious duties; and it may be safely affirmed that the communities which made Carn Goch and Catherthun their strongholds, were as superior to those tribes whom Julius Cæsar found in the vicinity of the Thames, and who made fallen timber and woody intricacies their cities of refuge, as the respective materials used by both parties differed in facility of original construction, and in durability when constructed.

Perhaps I may also suggest another line of thought, along which my own mind willingly travels, and compels me to contrast the monuments of Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities, full of foul shapes and monstrous figments, devoted to idolatrous and God-degrading inventions, with our own megalithic structures and gigantic cairns, from which no material proofs have been extracted, that their builders had ever fallen into the practical errors of the great historical nations of the Eastern world, or ever changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.

And we, the nation who are supposed to have the strongest claim to be regarded as the lineal descendants of those ancient workmen who erected, in the northern parts of the island, such structures as the stones of Stennis and the Catherthuns, and in the southern, Stonehenge and Carn Goch, not to mention the Hirvaens, cromlech, and rocking-stones common to both parts, have been specially favoured by Providence, inasmuch as we have been privileged to conserve as a living tongue that language with which those same ancestors used to describe not

only what they thought and felt, but also to name what their hands wrought and their eyes perceived.

To solve this problem—to apply this still living tongue to the still existing memorials of the past, and to bring them into mutual harmony, and from this harmony to elicit many new phases of important truths—is the especial province of the Cymro. The materials are daily accumulating for enabling us safely to reconstruct the edifice of historical truth respecting the origin of man, and the descent of nations.

I myself have laboured diligently, if hitherto not successfully, in this field, as far as it is known to the public ; but lately new links have been discovered ; and, as I trust, no long time will now elapse before I shall be enabled to connect the present with the past, and make patent to all who are not blinded by invincible prejudices, the great truths which may be extracted from the careful investigation of the remains, monumental, traditionary, and literary, of the ancient race of the Cymry.

So much for the present respecting the structures which are still visible on the detached and isolated mountain of the pre-historical Carn Goch.

ON THE EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN WORLD, AND ON CELTIC COINS.

IN addition to the prehistorical evidence derivable from philological and archæological studies in support of the common unity of the great Indo-European family, which, from some spot in central Asia, sent forth colonies eastward and westward, so as finally to people the vast territories whose inhabitants still speak dialects of the Indo-European language, and are classed together by ethnologists as branches of one great division of mankind, the time has come for reopening the question, whether there does not still exist much evidence of a pure historical character to show, for example, that the ancient nations which occupied the shores of the Mediterranean held in remote periods constant intercourse with the people who dwelt on the shores of the Atlantic, north of the Pillars of Hercules, and with the primitive population of the British Isles? If this be shown clearly, it may serve to remove some of the difficulties which general readers feel, when called upon to believe that the Ancient Britons had participated in all the knowledge which was the traditionary inheritance of the patriarchal ages in the least corrupted periods.

To omit entirely for the present, investigations respecting the long voyages of the Phœnicians in ante-Homeric periods, and all reference to the intercourse subsisting between Tyre and Tarshish in the days of Solomon, I shall confine myself to those notices derivable from ancient authors which refer to a commerce between the Mediterranean and the countries in and adjacent to the external ocean.

That Homer believed in the possibility of long voyages is evident from the fact that he ascribed to Menelaus an absence

of eight years from his home, while he was employed in mercantile wanderings in Eastern seas ; and the ancient geographer Strabo had no doubt that the poet meant to insinuate that Ulysses had passed the straits, and entered the broad Atlantic, in his wanderings far west into the regions of gloom and Cimmerian darkness. The seas are described by him as open to merchants in every direction, who, nevertheless, were liable to be assailed by pirates ; but the very existence of pirates proves that there also existed a commercial navy, their proper prey. The tin and amber, so copiously mentioned in the Homeric poems as objects in common use, and which could be derived solely from the British Isles and the North Atlantic Ocean, testify that intercourse with them must have existed.

The dark cloud which fell suddenly upon the Grecian world, owing either to the conquest of the more civilized communities of the South by the barbarous warriors of the North, or to some other cause to us unknown, renders all transactions during its continuance obscure ; but it is quite evident that the post-Homeric Hellenes were long before they resumed commercial and naval enterprises on a grand scale.

According to Herodotus, the Phocæans of Ionia were the first to awake from their slumbers. "These Phocæans," says he,¹ "were the first people of the Hellenes who performed long voyages, and these are they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, Tursenia, Iberia, and Tartessus ; and they made their voyages, not in merchant vessels, but in war galleys. Now, when they arrived at Tartessus, they were hospitably received by the King of the Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius. He reigned over Tartessus for eighty years, and lived one hundred and twenty. The Phocæans became such favourites with this man, that, in the first place, he desired them to leave Ionia, and to settle in whatever part of his territory they might choose. In the second place, when he failed to persuade them to do this, on hearing how the power of the Medes was increasing in their vicinity, he presented them with money to fortify their city,

¹ Lib. i. cap. 16.

and he gave it unsparingly; for the circuit of their wall is many stadii, and the whole is formed of large stones well fitted together."

Unfortunately, Herodotus forgot to specify the time when these Phocæans first made known to the Hellenes the existence of Tartessus, with its monarch and great wealth. We know from sufficient authority, that they founded their first settlement at Massilia, on the coast of Gaul, in the year B.C. 600; and that a Samian vessel, of which Colæus was master, had been carried by a tempest to Tartessus, whence she returned with a cargo sufficiently valuable to enrich both captain and crew. This was before Christ at least 638, as will be shown hereafter; consequently we must allow the Phocæan supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, and a free intercourse between Ionia, to have continued for at least some considerable period, until it was finally crushed by the united naval forces of Etruria and Carthage, to whose commerce these intruders, half merchants and half pirates, had proved very destructive. But the interval was long enough to have made the enterprising Phocæans and friendly Tartessians perfectly acquainted with each other, and conversant with all the knowledge mutually to be derived from their intercommunications.

There can be no doubt that the subjects of Arganthonius were the colonies of early Phœnicia, who were totally independent of Carthage, and were a rich, prosperous, and enlightened race of men. Their chief city, the river on whose banks it was built, as well as the adjacent territory, were all called Tartessus, being the emporium with which the fleet of Solomon traded, and whence the Sidonians procured that tin, without which they could not have manufactured that bronze which, from the earliest period, was so largely made and so widely diffused by Sidon, "abounding in bronze."

The earliest specific notice of any intercourse between the historic Hellenes and these flourishing colonies of the ancient Phœnicians, is to be found in the fourth book of Herodotus, where he describes the colonization of Cyrene by the The-

icans. This event took place at least 638 years B.C. As a preparatory step, they had sent a vessel to reconnoitre the coast, and, having discovered the island Platea, took possession of it, and left their pilot to occupy it until their return. They supplied him with provisions adequate to his use for a certain time. "But," writes Herodotus, "when they continued absent beyond the appointed time, the whole store of Corcebus (the pilot) was consumed; but then a Samian ship, whose owner was Colæus, on her voyage to Egypt, touched at this island Platea, and the Samians, after hearing his story from Corcebus, leave with him a year's provision, and, setting sail from the island with a wish to reach Egypt, were carried from their course by an east wind; and as the gale continued to blow, they passed through the Heracleian Pillars, and, under divine guidance, arrived at Tartessus. But at this period that emporium was un plundered. So that, these men, having returned safe, were the greatest gainers from their cargo of all the Hellenes of whom we have any accurate knowledge." From the tenth of their profits they dedicated a magnificent bronze cauldron to their patron goddess, Hera, which, with its three colossal supporters, also of bronze and seven cubits tall, remained till the time of Herodotus, a lasting memorial of their prosperous visit to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

There cannot be much doubt that the cargo of the Samian vessel which made this fortunate voyage, consisted principally of the amber of the north-western shores of Europe, of the tin of Great Britain, and of the silver produce of the Spanish mines; for Tartessus was the great emporium of all these highly valued materials. It is not possible to admit that, at this early period, when most of central Europe was as yet unsubdued by man, the trade between Great Britain and the Eastern world could have been carried across the Continent by land carriage; it must have been maintained by long sea voyages, both in the Mediterranean Sea and the North-western Ocean. A country must be partially reclaimed, its marshes must be drained, its forests cleared, and its lands be occupied

by a people comparatively civilized, before a prosperous commerce can be carried on by land conveyance. Even the traffic by sea, such as existed from the earliest ages between the Sidonians and Great Britain, was liable to interruption should the western portion of the Mediterranean be occupied by any naval power, whose leaders might be induced to covet the monopoly of such a gainful commerce, and had at their command the means of enforcing an exclusive policy.

The fact that the Phocæans of Ionia had to force their way in their war galleys before they could reach Tartessus, and procure in exchange for their own cargo, the precious freight which could be obtained in its market alone, proves that some naval power had previously excluded the rest of the world from the navigation of the straits and of the Western Ocean. This power must have been exercised by Carthage and her dependent states, backed by the support of her mother city, Tyre, which at that period was at the very summit of its prosperity.

That Phocæa long profited by her daring enterprise, and increased in wealth and power, we are expressly informed. But the invasion and conquest of Ionia by the armies of the victorious Cyrus, gave a fatal blow to her prosperity; and although a portion of her citizens abandoned their native land, and sought a new home in the Western Mediterranean, yet in their isolated state, beset by enemies from both the African and European shores, they were, after a piratical and turbulent existence, forced to succumb to the united assaults of the Turseuans and Carthaginians.

The few survivors, after various adventures, finally found rest and a home in Massilia, where in the days of her supremacy the parent city had founded a colony B.C. 600. Had not the intervention of Cyrus and his Eastern hordes devastated Western Asia, and enfeebled the Ionian states, it appears very probable that Phocæa and her sister states might have succeeded not only in establishing a lasting intercourse between themselves and Tartessus, but also in finally extending their visits to those shores, where the tin and amber were alone to

be found. But it was not to be so. Their defeat restored the keys of the Mediterranean to the monopolizing power, and consigned the Atlantic Ocean, with its shores and islands, to a darkness and obscurity which hung over them for another five hundred years.

I have no means of ascertaining the exact date when Corsica was abandoned by the Phocæans, and the Western Mediterranean was restored to the power of the Carthaginians and their allies. According to Fynes Clinton, the great disaster of the Phocæans in the naval battle between them and the Carthaginians and Etrurians, and their subsequent abandonment of Corsica, took place in the year B.C. 532, which he regards as being the last of the forty-four years during which the Phocæans were reported to have held the supremacy of the seas. Whatever the precise date of this fatal defeat may have been, a whole generation could not certainly have passed away before a treaty was concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which throws a flood of light on this obscure period of Western history.

This treaty, a precious document, which Polybius rescued from its obscurity in the Capitoline Temple, and introduced into the third volume of his history, was concluded B.C. 509, between Carthage and Rome. It was written in a dialect which differed so much from the Latin spoken in the days of Polybius, that the very best scholars could with difficulty, after patient attention, ascertain the meaning of some passages in it. I wish Polybius had given us a literal transcript of the document, which would, I believe, have shown a close connection between that primitive state of the Roman language and the oldest existing specimen of the Irish tongue. By this treaty the Romans were forbidden to sail beyond the fair promontory, and bound to abstain from all communication other than casual with any part of Lybia or Sardinia. In Sicily, where the Carthaginians were already partially established, the merchants of both nations were to have equal privileges. In the year B.C. 348, after a lapse of 161 years, another treaty was drawn up,

which I here copy at length:—"Let there be friendship between the Romans and their confederates on one part, and the communities of the Carthaginians, Tyrians, and Uticans, and their confederates, on the other. Let not the Romans take booty from any place beyond the fair promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium, nor trade there, nor found a city. And should the Carthaginians capture any city not being subject to the Romans, let them keep the inhabitants and their goods, but restore the city. But should any Carthaginians capture any persons connected with the Romans by a written treaty, yet not subject to them, let them not bring them into any Roman ports; but should such a captive be brought thither, let the Roman governor seize and liberate him, and let the same regulations be observed by the Romans Let no Roman trade in Sardinia or Lybia, nor found a city there, nor touch there, except to procure provisions, or to repair their vessel. Should a storm drive them thither, let them sail away in five days. In that part of Sicily which the Carthaginians rule, as well as at Carthage, let the Roman act and sell all things with rights and privileges equal to a citizen. Let the Carthaginian have the same privileges at Rome."

It will be observed, that in the first treaty B.C. 509, the Carthaginians alone are mentioned, while in the second treaty the states of Tyre and Utica are included. The reason seems to be this:—"Tyre had been captured by Nebuchadnezzar and his Chaldeans in the year B.C. 585, and was, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, to continue in great depression for seventy years. (See Isaiah xxviii.) These seventy years were to end B.C. 515, only six years before the time when the first treaty was concluded. Owing to the capture of the city, and during the long-continued depression, the Tyrians must have ceased to exercise not only authority but even influence over Carthage, which, being left independent, easily acquired the supremacy over all the Phœnician settlements in Lybia and the islands of the Mediterranean. But Tyre had recovered her prosperity, and at the conclusion of the second treaty, only eighteen years

before its capture by Alexander the Macedonian, was once more in close alliance with her powerful colony, which probably, from the influence of her mother city, had been brought to respect the independence of the Sidonian Utica. The two treaties preserved by Polybius throw more light upon the true condition of the two states at the given periods than can be derived from all the declamation of Livy. Even commercial cities had no respect for foreigners or their property, except they were connected with them by written treaties, which we may safely infer were as common at that early period among the Western nations as they now are. They traded on the same principle as Egypt in ancient, and China and Japan in modern, times. Foreigners could only hold intercourse at certain fixed marts. Thus, Rome could not trade with any portion of Lybia or Sardinia, of which Carthage alone was the emporium. There, however, the Romans had ample privileges. The same was the case with the Carthaginians, who had free trade with Rome alone, but with no other portion of Italy. And, to anticipate matters, I may say that the same principle prevailed in Great Britain, both at the same and at earlier and later periods. The island Mictis or Ictis, as described by Diodorus, was evidently the one emporium whence the produce of the Damnonian mines could be legally exported. I have no doubt that the clause which forbade the Romans to sail beyond the fair promontory was inserted to prevent them from frequenting in their ships the most western portion of the Mediterranean, and the vicinity of the straits. The cities mentioned in the second treaty have left in ancient records no vestige of their existence; we only know that they could not have been in any part of Lybia, as every portion of it is described in both treaties as ground forbidden to the Romans.

But here perhaps, as connected with information not immediately derivable from Hellenic or other Oriental sources, is the proper place to introduce the result of the inquiries of the historian Sallust, as drawn from the books of native Lybian writers which had once been the property of King Hiemsal,

and which were interpreted for the use of the great historian, who for the space of three years had been proconsul of Africa.

According to these Libyan authorities, Hercules had led westwards, as far as Spain, a mighty army, formed of various Eastern nations, and had perished there; that a portion of his troops consisting of Medes, Persians, and Armenians, had crossed over from Spain into Africa, where, by coalescing with the Lybians, they formed new nations. The Medes were partially the parents of the Mauri, and the Persians of the Numidians. Sallust has not condescended to give us any explanation of the cause and origin of this singular notion. If it was a living tradition, it could have originated only in fact; if it was a suggestion of a later date, it must have arisen from some peculiarities common to the Moors and Numidians, and their supposed progenitors the Medes, Armenians, and Persians. All these ancient nations of the East spoke the Indo-European language, whence it may reasonably be suspected that their descendants spoke a language which did not radically differ from those of their supposed progenitors. If we could credit the native authors, the death of Hercules in Spain, and the dispersion of his army, preceded the first advent of the Phœnicians in Lybia. For Sallust proceeds to say, "After this, Phœnicians—some for the sake of removing their surplus population, others from the love of military sway—excited the commonalty, and other people desirous of change, went forth and founded Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities. These, in a short time, prospered greatly, and were partly a protecting outpost, partly an honour, to their mother towns." He then mentions Carthage, but only to close the subject.

In another place Sallust writes that Leptis was founded by the Sidonians, who, banished during civil disturbances, had reached in their ships the site of the town situated between the two Syrtes. He adds, "The language of the citizens was changed owing to their intermarriage with the Numidians. Their laws and habits are principally Sidonian; and these they more easily retained, because they dwelt far from

the King's capital." The Numidians, if we can infer a general conclusion from the example of the reigning families, were a very able and highly civilized people, with whom the Phœnicians easily coalesced; they seem to have resembled in many points the Persian race, both in ancient and modern times, and with which tradition had early connected them. Utica, which the treaty mentions as an independent state, was a much older Phœnician settlement than Carthage, and was colonized, as well as Leptis, when Sidon, and not Tyre, exercised the supreme power of Phœnicia. Its inhabitants never amalgamated freely with the later Tyrian colony; and their sudden desertion of Carthage in the hour of her greatest need, during the war against the Mercenaries, the ferocious massacre of the Carthaginian soldiers and citizens, and their close union with the deadly enemies of Carthage, seem to indicate a state of feeling which can be best explained by the supposition, that among other causes of mutual enmity, race antipathy exercised no slight influence.

The expulsion of the Kings from Rome, followed close by the subjugation of the Romans by the Tuscans, left Carthage sole mistress of the Western Mediterranean, and opened a wider field for her active operations. In the year B.C. 480, she commenced the war against the Hellenic colonists in Sicily, especially the Syracusans and their allies. In the course of the same century, probably about the year B.C. 450, she sent forth, under a commander of the name of Hanno, a powerful fleet, with orders to plant colonies on the oceanic shores of the countries now called Fez and Morocco, and to explore the coast of Western Africa, as far as it could be safely done. The expedition, of which there is still extant a brief official account in a Greek form, was successful in its main object, and founded six cities on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, among which were distributed no fewer than thirty thousand Lybi-Phœnician colonists. At the same time, another expedition was sent forth under Himilco, with orders to explore the North-Western Ocean, with its shores and islands. This

was evidently the first visit of the Carthaginians to the British Islands and the adjacent seas. The official account of this voyage is not now extant; but fragments of it have been preserved in an obscure poem entitled *Ora Maritima*, written with the expressed intention to describe all the maritime coasts of the known world. The author, Festus Avienus, who lived under Constantine the Great, was rude in his style, and, as remarked by Professor Heeren, who was the first to draw public attention to the important materials preserved in his clumsy compilation, does not appear to have perfectly comprehended the various descriptions which he copied from the original authors. Among others whom he enumerates among his authorities, appear the ancient Ionian writers, Hecataeus of Miletus, and Hellanicus of Lesbos, whose works are no longer extant, and also the Punic Himilco, to whom he thus alludes¹:—

“All these particulars respecting the Ocean Himilco of old, reported that he had himself seen and experienced. The same drawn by me from the inmost annals of the Punic people, I have after a long time declared to you.”¹

He tells us that he had himself seen the south of Spain, and examined the ruins of its once flourishing capital where he had seen nothing worthy of notice except the annual feast of Hercules. In another poem, called *Orbis Terræ Descriptio*, Festus gives this important description of the capital:—

Gadir prima fretum solida super eminet Arce
Atollitque caput geminis inserta columnis
Hæc Cotinussa prius fuerat sub nomine prisco
Tartessumque dehinc Tyrii dixere coloni
Barbara quinectian Gades hanc lingua frequentat
Pœnus quippe locum Gadir vocat undique Septum
Aggere præducto Tyrii per inhospita late,
Æquora provecti tenuere—ut Cespitis oram
Constituere domus—danit hi quoque maxima templa
Amplitryonidæ numenque verentur alumnus.

¹ Avieni ora maritimi

Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus oceano super
Spectasse semet et probasse retulit
Hæc nos ab imis Punicorum annalibus
Prolata longo tempore edidimus tibi

The first name will remind the scholar of the legend which described the Grecian Hercules as having visited this region, and having thence transplanted the *Cotinus*, or wild olive, to the banks of the Peneius, that it might furnish the green garland of the future victors at the Olympic games. The second name, Tartessus, is ascribed to the Phœnicians, the founders of the city, and builders of the temple in honour of the god, their foster child, that is, of course, the Tyrian or Sidonian Hercules, their national deity, whom, however, Avienus scruples not to confound with the Theban-born son of Amphitryon, the Grecian hero. But the Phœnician name Tartessus disappeared, and the same city was called Gadir by the Poeni, or Carthaginians, in whose language the word means a fortress. The change of name is a certain proof that the Carthaginians had made war upon the Phœnician colonies in the south of Spain, and in the interval between the final defeat of the Phocæans and the expedition of Himilco had assailed, captured, and renamed the island capital, which commanded the straits and opened the Western Ocean with all it contained to their further enterprise. Herodotus had evidently heard that Tartessus had been overtaken by this great calamity when he briefly stated, in recounting the story of the Samian vessel which had visited that emporium some time B.C. 638, that "Tartessus was as yet ἀνέπατον, that is, unplundered." The new name imposed upon the island fortress would alone suffice to indicate the conquerors and plunderers of Tartessus, were we even without a knowledge of the internecine ferocity with which the cities of the Phœnician colonists of Bætica were assaulted, plundered, and destroyed, when their continental possessions were invaded and conquered for a time by the veteran legions of Carthage, successively led to the charge by the skilful generals Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal.

Tartessus must, therefore, have fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians, and with it the command of the Straits, before they could have ventured to send these two magnificent expeditions to explore the regions now accessible to their naval

enterprise. Now, let us carefully study the interesting particulars of a voyage of discovery sent forth more than two-and-twenty hundred years ago to examine the British Islands, and other ocean wonders. The following is a literal translation from the poem of Avienus¹ :—

“That you may have a plain intimation of this my toil and labour, I will commence my narrative a little higher. Do you lay up my expressions in your utmost memory, for the facts are credible, being sought for and drawn out from their authors.

“The lands of our broad globe lie scattered, while again the wave rolls round our globe; but where the deep sea insinuates itself from the ocean, that

¹ Ut aperte vero tibimet intimatio
Sudoris hujus et laboris sit mei
Narrationem opusculi paulo altius
Exordiemur. Tu in intimum secur
Prolata conde. Namque fulcit hæc fides
Petita longe et eruta ex auctoribus.
Terræ patentis orbis effuso jacent
Orbique rursus unda circumfunditur
Sed qua profundum semet insinuat salum
Oceano ab usque ut gurgēs hic nostri maris
Longi explicetur, est Atlanticus sinus.

Hic Gadir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prior
Hic sunt Columnæ pertinacis Herculis
Abila atque Calpe
Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput
Œstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius
Molesque celsa Saxei fastigii
Tota in tepentem maxime vergit Notum.
Sub hujus autem Prominentis vertice
Sinus dehiscit incolis œstrymnicus
In quo insulæ se exserunt œstrymnides
Laxe jacentes et Metallo divites
Stanni atque Plumbi—Multa vis hic gentis est
Superbus animus, efficax Solertia,
Negociandi cura jugis omnibus
Notisque cumbis turbidum late fretum
Et Beluosi gurgitem oceani secant
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere
norunt, non abiete ut usus est
Curvant faselos sed rei ad miracula

the waters of our sea may freely expend themselves, is placed the Atlantic Gulf. In it lies Gaddir, called Tartessus in former days. Here are the Pillars of the persevering Hercules, Abila, and Calpe . . . here also is raised the summit of a promontory. Ancient times named it Œstrymnis; and the lofty mass of its stony ridge slopes principally to the south; below this promontory the Œstrymnic Gulf gapes widely for the inhabitants; and in this gulf the islands Œstrymnides lie scattered. These are rich in mines of tin and lead; here dwells a numerous and powerful nation (*multa his gentis*), of haughty spirit and energetical skill; all are continually engaged in merchandising, and in their well-known boats plough both their own turbulent straits, and the monster-producing ocean. These know not how to fashion keels from the pine, nor do they build barks from fir-trees according to common practice; but in a wonderful manner they always fit out their vessels with skins joined together, and often, in hide-vessels sail over the vast deep. From these islands a ship will, in two days, reach the island called sacred by the ancients. This shows among the waves a spacious land; and it is widely cultivated by the nation of the Hiberni. Again, the island of the Albiones expands itself in the vicinity. The Tartessians were accustomed to carry their merchandise to the borders of the Œstrymnides. Also the colonies of Carthage, and the communities dwelling within the Pillars of Hercules, used to frequent these seas. Now, the Punic Himilco, as he himself reports his personal experience during the voyage, asserts that these seas (the distance between Carthage and the tin islands) were with difficulty traversed by him in four months, seeing that no breezes blowing fresh propel the vessel; but the motionless waters of the large sea lie stagnant. He adds, also, that much seaweed floats on the surface, so as often, like a thicket, to stop the ship; he, however, says that the sea is not deep, and that the bottom is scarcely covered by the scanty waters; that wild beasts (*feræ*) traverse the sea in every direction, and monsters (*Beluæ*) swim among the slow and lazily creeping vessels."

Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus
 Corioque vastum semper percurrunt salum
 Ast hinc duobus in sacram, sic insulam
 Dixere Priaci, solibus cursus rati est
 Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit
 Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit
 Propinqua rursus Albionum patet.
 Tartesiis in terminos œstrymnidum
 Negociandi mos erat—Carthaginiis
 Etiam colonis, et vulgus inter Herculis
 Agitans columnis hæc adibant æquora
 Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor
 Enavigantem posse transmitti adserit

All scholars acquainted with their works, must allow that the ancient geographers, both Greek and Roman, had notions singularly confused with respect to the relative positions occupied by the British Islands, and the Spanish peninsula and Southern Gaul. They do not seem to be aware of the existence of the Bay of Biscay, and supposed that Ireland was placed somewhere between Great Britain and Spain; and Strabo, as well as Avienus, would annex the tin islands to Spain rather than Great Britain. These, whether called Cassiterides by the Hellenic writers, or *Æstryrnides* by the Phœnician, or *Sylinæ* by the Roman, were undoubtedly the same group which is now denominated the Scilly Isles. The position assigned to them by Himilco, with respect to both Hibernia and Albion, fixes their identity without a possibility of mistake, as Professor Heeren justly observes. But whether the present appearance, number, and extent of these islands, correspond with the description of them left to us by ancient authors, is a question which need scarcely be answered in the affirmative; for the ocean is especially aggressive on those south-western coasts of Great Britain, and islands adjacent; and both tradition and physical phenomena tend to show that the oceanic encroachments, both on the peninsula and the Islands, have been extensive, and are still unceasing. Moreover, it cannot be doubted that the main supply of tin ore was drawn, not from the Scilly Islands, but from Cornwall and Devonshire; but, as all the prepared metal was to be exported from only one emporium, the locality of the

Si nulla late flabra propellunt ratem
 Sic segnis humor æquoris stupet
 Adjicit et illud plurimum inter gurgites
 Extare fucum et sæpe virgulti vice
 Retinere puppin. Dicit hic nihilo minus
 Non in profundum terga dimitti maris
 Parvoque aquarum vix supertexti solum
 Obire semper huc et illuc feras
 Navigia lenta et languide repentia
 Inter natare beluas.

various mines whence the ore was extracted was a matter of comparative indifference to foreign merchants.

A great part of the above quotation from Avienus is evidently a description of the one voyage of Himilco, who had to explore his way among unknown waters amid summer calms and smooth seas; and we may be sure that the "*Balæna Britannica*" excited the wonder, if not the terror, of the Mediterranean sailors, and that at that early period the British waters were widely occupied by seals, sea-lions, white bears, and other monsters of the deep, which are now known only as rare visitors.

But, though the sea and its wild inmates were as yet unsubdued, yet man was there, with all the marks of civilization, known to the early Noachidæ; he was a miner, a skilful metallurgist, well versed, as will be shown hereafter, in philosophy and mathematical science, and acquainted with that original alphabet which the early Sidonians had carried with them to all their distant colonies. The direct intercourse between Tartessus and Phocæa must have continued unbroken for, at least, more than a century, during the course of which, the commercial spirit which animated the Britons seen by Himilco, would prompt them to frequent the emporium of Tartessus, where they would meet their Hellenic customers, and learn from them what Hellenic civilization had added to the arts and sciences which had been imported by their progenitors from the East. But at the time when the Phocæans first traded with Tartessus, the Ionians had not much to communicate of what was afterwards called Hellenic arts, science, and literature. The Ionians of the day had no literature, except that connected with the Homeric poems; no poet, not even a prose-writer; no historian, no philosopher. The only art peculiar to the Hellenic race, and which all the various people dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean either neglected altogether or borrowed from them, was the art of coining money; and this elegant and useful innovation was, according to my firm belief, adopted by the Britons of this island in consequence of their

becoming familiar with Hellenic coins during their direct intercourse with Phocæan merchants.

It was during the same period that Hellenic merchants had passed into Great Britain, visited the great national temple now called Stonehenge, and the city inhabited by members of the great Bardic Institute, which could have been no other than the ancient "Saron," connected by name with one of the orders whom the Hellenes called Saronidæ. They would also see the broad lands with which the Institute had been endowed, and their various stone erections. Here also the Hellenes would be reminded of the original connection between the worshippers in this great temple, and those of the same religion who worshipped the same sun-god in his Delian and Lycian shrines, at a time when Greece had not rejected her primeval and purer creed, nor surrendered herself to the gross vanities of idolatry and polytheism. They might also have talked of the common origin of their ancestors, more Eastern than Phœnicia: a fact faithfully recorded among the traditions of the Britons, and which was distinctly preserved in the poem of Avienus, who, after examining the Punic annals, confirms the account given by Herodotus respecting their Eastern homes. His words, when describing the maritime coast running parrallel with Mount Libanus, are—

Salso quiquid pulsatur ab Æstu
Phœnicum regio est—hi *rubro a gurgile* quondam
Mutavere domus—Primique per æquora vecti
Lustravere salum, primi docuere carinis
Ferre cavis orbis commercia—Sidera primi
Servavere Poli.

The fall of Tartessus must have much disturbed the maritime commerce of Great Britain, and their kindred tribes in Gaul, but did not paralyze it. Tin still continued to be produced in sufficient quantities to compose the bronze vessels and weapons for the use of the British Isles and the Northorn continent of Europe; and tin, as well as amber, was after that event supplied to the Spanish markets, as testified by Herodotus. The people whom Himilco found were a numerous and powerful

nation, haughty in spirit, and gifted with skilful energy, while they were occupied continually in mercantile pursuits. His words are exceedingly expressive:—

Multa vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax Solertia,
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus.

The Carthaginians made no settlement in Great Britain, nor on the coast of Gaul; they merely occupied the place formerly filled by the Tartessians. This is distinctly asserted by Avienus, who says,—

Tartesiis in terminos Æstryrnidum
Negotiandi mos erat. Carthaginis
Etiam Colonia. Et vulgus inter Herculis
Agitans Columnas hæc adibant æquora.

Seeing that all these seas were known to the Carthaginians as early as the time of Himilco at least, the ignorance respecting the same which prevailed among the Hellenes, the contemporaries of Herodotus, is marvellous and almost incredible. It is necessary to present here his astounding confession—(book iii. cap. 115):—

“But respecting the western extremities of Europe, I cannot speak with accuracy, for I do not believe that any river which flows into the Northern Sea is called by the barbarians Eridanus, from which report says that Electrum regularly comes to us; nor do I know that the Cassiterides, from which Cassiteros regularly comes to us, are islands. For, in the first place, the very name Eridanus proves itself to be of Hellenic, not Barbaric origin, and to have been the invention of a poet. In the second place, although making careful inquiries, I cannot hear from an eyewitness that *that further side of Europe is at all a sea*. But, however that may be, both Electrum and Cassiteros do come to us from that extremity of Europe.”

So closely had been barred, after the defeat of the Phocæans, all access to the Western Ocean, and the nations occupying its isles and shores. But assuredly one wise man, whose geographical work was before Festus Avienus, had received a true account from some Ionian sailors, who, during the Phocæan supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, had frequented Tartessus and its dependencies, and gained accurate information respecting the same highly civilized nation whom Himilco had

found and described. This was Hecatæus of Miletus, a wise politician and grave author, who gave such a favourable description of a Northern island in the Western Ocean, that in later times it was deemed a myth. Here follows the description of Hecatæus, as preserved in the second book of Diodorus Siculus. It is in the second book of his mythological work :—

“ Now, after describing the parts of Asia lying northward, we think it not inappropriate to narrate the mythological stories concerning the Hyperboreans. Now, Hecatæus and some other authors of ancient mythology say, ‘that in the regions over against Celtica there is in the ocean an island not smaller than Sicily; that this island is situated below the constellation of the Bears, and that it is inhabited by men called Hyperboreans, because they are placed beyond the blast of Boreas; they add, that the land being fertile, and producing everything necessary, and enjoying a fine temperature, bears two crops in the year. Now, they mythologically state that Latona was born there, and that on that account Apollo is honoured by them above all other gods; that among them there are some men, priests as if it were of Apollo, and that, consequently, he is daily and continuously hymned by them with lyric songs, and exceedingly honoured; that there is also in the island both a consecrated precinct of great magnificence, and a temple of corresponding beauty, adorned with numerous dedicated gifts, and in shape spherical; that there is also a city sacred to the god, and greatly magnify his deeds. They also state that the Hyperboreans have a peculiar dialect, and are very kindly disposed to the Hellenes, and especially to the Athenians and Delians, and that they have inherited this friendly feeling from ancient times. They also say that some of the Hellenes have passed over to the Hyperboreans, and have left there precious dedicated gifts, bearing Hellenic inscriptions; that in the same manner Abaris, in a former age, had passed into Hellas, and renewed with the Delians the bond of friendship and consanguinity. They also say that the moon from this island appears to be not far distant from the earth, and clearly shows certain earthly eminences. It is also said that every nineteenth year the god descends into this island. Now, every nineteenth year certain returns of the stars to fixed positions take place, and on this account a period of nineteen years is called by the Hellenes the great year; that when the god makes his periodical appearance he both plays the harp and dances during the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, taking great delight in his own successful efforts.’

“They also say that a family called Boreadæ, descendants of Boreas, are the kings of this city, and superintendents of the temple, and regularly succeed each other by birthright.”

A partial explanation of this most important fragment of antiquity will be given in a subsequent essay.

But here it will be necessary to prove by direct evidence that the Hyperboreans of Hecataeus were the ancient Britons found by Himilco. Festus Avienus had before him the complete works of Hecataeus and Hellanicus, and the official journal of Himilco. Tin was supposed by the Hellenes in general to have been derived in some considerable quantities from Spain, whither probably it was only an importation from Britain. Avienus, after describing the promontory of Spain sacred to Hercules and Erutheia (the Sidonian name of the island on which Tartessus was built) thus proceeds :—

Genetrix hæc ora metalli

Albentis stanni venas vomit—acer Iberus

Hæc freta veloci percurrit sæpe Faselò,

Eminus hic alie gelidi prope flabra Aquilonis

Exuperant undas et vasta cacumina tollunt—

Hæ numero geminæ pingues sola cespitis amplæ,

Conditur occidui qua Rhini gurgitis unda,

Dira Britannorum sustentant agmina terris.

Translated :—

“This coast abounds in mines; it throws out veins of tin; the vigorous Iberian often bounds over these surges in his swift boat. Here also, at some distance, other islands *near the blasts of the cold north wind*, overtop the waves and raise their lofty heads. These, two in number, rich in soil, having an ample glebe, maintain on their land the formidable bands of the Britons.”

Avienus thus describes the inhabitants of the British Islands in terms probably quoted from Hecataeus, as rich in soil and glebe, and yet dwelling *near the cold blasts of Boreas*: the very terms which other Hellenic writers apply to the Hyperborean people whom Himilco describes as powerful and energetic, endowed with a proud spirit and practical wisdom, while all were deeply engaged in commercial affairs. Himilco evidently came in contact with the active maritime and mercantile part of the community alone, whereas the Hellenic visitors from whom Hecataeus drew his information had seen the court and all its concomitants, the city, the great temple, the priesthood, with its various classes of musicians, bards, and philosophers. It is not probable that the Carthaginians settled any colonies, either in

Great Britain or the adjacent coast of Gaul; they were probably deterred by the distance and other obstacles, and were content with securing to their new-named "Gaddir" the monopoly of the oceanic trade.

The Carthaginians had probably long before taken and occupied the island Eruthcia and its city Tartessus, but did not attempt to make any colonial settlement in continental Spain before the conclusion of the first Punic war, when, after having terminated the struggle against the mutinous Mercenaries, Hamilcar Barca invaded Spain with a powerful army, and laid the foundation of the Carthaginian supremacy in the Peninsula, which, however, was utterly overthrown at the termination of the second Punic war; so that there was no time to impress any of the characteristics peculiar to the Carthaginians in opposition to the more ancient Sidonians, upon the inhabitants of Spain. Strabo, who expressly affirmed that the Phœnicians had, even before the age of Homer, occupied the best parts both of Lybia and Spain, confounds them with the Carthaginians, who, under Hamilcar and his warlike successors, carried on an internecine war against all the Spanish people. Of this war we have only broken notices. Polybius tells us that Hamilcar crossed over at the Pillars of Hercules, so that his first attacks must have been directed from Gadir, against the continental territories of the Tartessians. The historian gives us no particulars respecting this unprovoked aggression; he states, however, that after long-continued successes, he bravely fell in a battle against "the most valiant and most powerful people" in the Peninsula. Asdrubal followed the same career, and with the same success. The spirit with which Hannibal carried on the war may be collected from the narrative of Polybius, who thus writes: "As soon as Hannibal received the command of the army, he immediately prepared to subject Spain to the Carthaginian power, and having marched to Althea, their most important city, sat down before it. He then made effective and terrific assaults, and quickly mastered the town. When this took place, the rest of the towns being panic-struck, surren-

dered to the Carthaginians. He then sold the cities and their inhabitants, and having gained great sums of money, returned to New Carthage." "Thus also he served the great and flourishing cities Arbocala, Salmantica, and Saguntum."

From these facts we may infer what treatment Tartessus and its people received from previous conquerors.

Strabo, wishing to intimate the Iberian wealth, tells us that the Carthaginians who served with Hamilcar Barca, found, as historians narrate, that the people of Turditania had their mangers and wine-casks made of solid silver. The very name of Tartessus vanished, and more than one place was supposed to occupy its site. Thus Strabo says :—"The ancients seem to have called the river Baetis, Tartessus, and Gadira, with its adjacent island, Erutheia ; therefore, they suppose that Stesichorus thus wrote about the herds of Geryon :—"They were produced in the land over against the famous Erutheia, among sequestered rocks, by the boundless silver-rooted fountains of the river Tartessus." They also say, that, as the river enters the sea by two mouths, a city was formerly founded in the intervening space, and that it, as well as the river, was called Tartessus ; and that the country now possessed by the Turduli was also called Tartessus ; and Eratosthenes says, that the region contiguous to Calpe was called Tartessus ; and that Erutheia was a rich island. But some writers call the present Carteia, Tartessus. So complete was the desolation caused by the victorious Carthaginians among the most ancient Eastern colonists in Spain. Yet, from the assumption that the ancient Sidonians and the Carthaginians were the same race, of similar habits, and speaking a common language, Strabo did not hesitate to write thus :—"The Phœnicians, even before Homer's age, occupied the best part both of Lybia and Spain, and continued to be masters of those countries until the Romans put an end to their supremacy." Again, in another passage where he supposes that the *Odyssey* contained secret allusions to Spain and her statistics, Strabo writes thus :—"For the arrival of Heracles and the Phœnicians in Spain suggested to him the wealth and

luxury of the inhabitants. For those became so subject to the Phœnicians that the majority of the cities in Turdetania and the adjacent countries are still inhabited by them."

These Turdetani, originally Phœnicians, were not only a wealthy and powerful race, but also comparatively enlightened and civilized. For he says of them :—"They call the country Bætica from the river, and Turdetania from the inhabitants, who are called Turdetani and Turduli." Some authors regard them "as the same people, others that they are a different race." Again, when he states that the Turdetani are now close neighbours to the Turduli, he adds :—

"But now there does not appear the slightest difference between them. These are esteemed the wisest of the Iberians, and know the use of letters, and they have ancient historical documents, and poems, and metrical laws, consisting of six thousand verses (*σέξων*, not *σέως*, the text as printed); and the other Iberians know the use of letters, but these differ in form, for there is among them more than one language."

The truth of this statement will be made manifest when we come to the examination of the ancient Spanish coins. Here it will be sufficient to observe, that if the Phœnicians who colonized Spain in ante-Homeric times, and who, in Strabo's time, formed the population of the great cities in Bætica, were a Semitic race, their language must have belonged to the Aramæan type, and have deeply entered into the composition of the modern Spanish dialects. But that is far from being the case. The Latin language was, almost immediately after the first conquest of Spain by the Romans, adopted by these ante-Homeric Phœnician colonists, as is testified by Strabo, who wrote from personal knowledge. He says : "The Turdetani, in addition to the richness of their territory, had also a corresponding civilization, and political institutions ; so had, also, the Celtici, on account of their juxtaposition." Polybius says, on account of their kinship, but the Celtici in a smaller degree, for in general they live in villages.

"Moreover, the Turdetani, and especially those in the vale of the Bætis, have completely adopted Roman modes of life ; they have forgotten even their

own peculiar dialect, and have become Latins for the most part, and had admitted Roman colonists, so that all have become almost Romans. The cities which now are inhabited in common, such as Pax Augusta among the Celtici, Augusta Emerita among the Celtici, and Caesar Augusta in the Celtiberian country, and some other settlements, prove the change of their political constitution before described; and all the Iberians who have adopted these forms are called Togati. Among them are even the Celtiberians, who were formerly accounted the most savage."

Such an instant amalgamation could not have taken place except among kindred races whose language was radically the same. The dialect spoken by these Phœnicians in Spain was probably not very unlike the dialect in which the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was drawn up, as described by Polybius; the Phœnicians therefore adopted it, as a more improved specimen of their own dialect, to such an extent that, had it not been for the conquest of the same country by the Semitic Arabs, the modern languages of the Peninsula would have shown but few traces of the shortlived and violent domination of the Carthaginians. Still, the influence of such cities as Gadeira, New Carthage, Barcino—all, as well as Port Mahon, Punic settlements—must have been considerable; and to it we owe probably the Spanish coins with Aramaic inscriptions, struck probably after the second Punic war, when Carthage lost all authority in Spain, and could not prevent states from coining money after the example of the Greeks and Romans, although Carthage itself, as long as it remained independent, seems to have abstained from similar imitation.

But to return to the ancient Phœnicians of Tartessus, which formed the great emporium whence in the seventh century B.C. tin and amber came to the Hellenes.

The scriptures inform us that in the tenth century B.C., tin came to Tyre, and the Homeric poems are full of references both to pure tin and the compound metal, bronze: this same compound metal, being found distributed all over the British Islands and the whole ocean-board of the Western Atlantic from Cadiz to Denmark, proves the constant resort of merchants to Cornwall and Devonshire, which may safely be classed with

the Cassiterides as the seat of the chief mines, and thence to the north-western shores of Europe, to exchange the compound metal for the amber which these shores alone produced in sufficient quantities.

We have also direct evidence that the inhabitants of the tin countries were themselves commercial traders of great activity and intelligence as far back as the fifth century B.C., and safely navigated the seas between them and Tartessus. Nor should we stumble at the character of the hide-covered vessels in which such voyages were performed. The formidable fleets in which the Saxon pirates attacked the states to the south of them, and finally conquered Southern Britain and portions of Northern Gaul, were similar barks, constructed not so much for want of skill, but as better able to encounter the shoals and hidden dangers of their tidal estuaries. Sidonius Apollinaris, who wrote A.D. 455, about the time when the first Saxon settlement in Great Britain was made, describes the vessels in the following terms :—

Quin et Aremoricus Piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat—cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus et assuto glaucum mare findere Lembo.

The war galleys of the Vikings of Norway were also fashioned after the same form. Strabo writes that the Lusitanians in former times built similar vessels for similar purposes. That the traders, who preferred these wicker-built and hide-covered boats to more solidly constructed vessels, had nothing to learn from Hellenic and Roman skill, may be seen from the description of the fleet and its equipment belonging to the Armorican Veneti, which is so elaborately described by Julius Cæsar, who also adds that the principal trade of the same Veneti was carried on with Great Britain.

But before closing these written notices concerning these ancient traders of the Western world, it will not be uninteresting to quote from Strabo his peculiar account of the Cassiterides ; unluckily he does not quote his authority, nor

do I know who that Publius Crassus was, who first visited them :—

“ The Cassiterides are ten in number ; they, being Pelagian, lie near each other, northwards from the harbour of the Artabri (or Arotreba) ; one of them is uninhabited ; in the others dwell a people wearing black gowns reaching to the feet, clad also in tunics with girdles round their waists. They also go about with wands in their hands, something like the furies in tragedies. They *live principally a nomad life, subsisting on their flocks and herds*. And as they have mines of tin and lead, they exchange these metals for earthenware, salt and bronze imported by merchants. Now, in former days, the Phœnicians alone were engaged in this trade, using Gadeira as their starting-place, and concealing from all their navigation. But as some Romans were following a certain shipowner, in order that they also might acquire a knowledge of the emporia, the captain, grudging them this advantage, wilfully ran his vessel upon a shoal, and, having brought the same destruction on his pursuers, he escaped himself, and received from the public treasure the value of his ship and cargo. Nevertheless, the Romans, by repeated attempts, discovered the navigation ; and afterwards Publius Crassus, having crossed over to them, discovered that their mines were not deep, and that the inhabitants were peaceful in consequence of their wealth, and thus showed that this sea was navigable by all who should choose to use it. The passage to the islands is wider than the strait which separates the continent from Britain.”

The concealment of the navigation, undoubtedly commenced by historical Tyre during her most flourishing period, had been continued by Carthage as soon as she became mistress of the Western Mediterranean ; but when, at the close of the second Punic war, she was compelled to evacuate Spain, the secret was no longer tenable. The Romans, in possession of the European side of the strait, could observe the movements of the Carthaginian merchant-ships in passing from the Mediterranean into the ocean, and dodge their courses over the sea. This new opportunity commenced about the year 200, and became useless by the destruction of Carthage in the year 146 B.C. The story must then have originated during this short interval, when the Romans first ventured to make ocean voyages, and Carthage had still a public treasury, whence rewards could be assigned to patriotic deeds ; yet Strabo mentions Phœnicians alone, although on other occasions he makes

a distinction between them and the Carthaginians. The first part of the account quoted from Strabo seems taken from the narrative of some voyager who applied to a whole nation what was true only of one island.

The description of the inhabitants can only apply to an establishment of Druids, who had their great schools or colleges in sequestered spots, often islands or peninsulas. Such was peculiarly Mona, as described by Tacitus, who compares the female votaries of the Druids in their dark garments to the same furies mentioned by the anonymous author quoted by Strabo. We know from most authentic testimony that many of the most sacred *τεμενη* in Asia, and all over Europe, consisted of wide pasture lands, often surrounded by and bounded by groves like that of the Lacinian Juno, so graphically described by Livy. The flocks and herds which depastured these sacred spots were regarded as the property of the divinity to whom they were dedicated, and furnished the established hierarchy with subsistence and wealth. Plutarch also mentions the existence of similar colleges in islands westward from Britain; his words are:—

“A little time before the Pythian festival, under the auspices of Callistratus; there came to us from the opposite extremities of the inhabited world, two holy men, who then met at Delphi: from Britain the grammarian Demetrius, on his homeward road to Tarsus; and Cleombrotus, the Lacedemonian.”

“Now, Demetrius said, that round Britain there were many scattered and desert islands, and that some of them bore the names of demons and heroes; that he himself, being sent thither by the king (or the emperor), had sailed to the island which lay nearest her desert sisters, for the sake of viewing it and investigating its history. Its inhabitants were not very numerous, but all of them were esteemed by the Britons both holy and inviolable.”

The oldest establishment of the kind known to me, as connecting the historical with the mythological age, is the *τεμενος* of Protesilaus in the Thracian Chersonese, accompanied by his tomb and sanctuary, as described by Herodotus, book ix. cap. 116.

At Elæus, in the Chersonese, is the tomb of Protesilaus, and a *τεμενος* encircling it, wherein was great wealth, gold and silver

vessels, bronze, vestments, and other offerings, all of which the Persian sacrilegiously carried away . . . *He then cultivated the temple, and sowed corn in it.* He even converted the sanctuary into a chamber for his wives.

I need not waste words in showing to what an extent this system prevailed, even in the historical times of Greece, and what accusations of sacrilege were brought against all who dared to pollute with the plough such holy grazing land, and what bitter wars often arose from their violation. Suffice it to say, that the practice prevailed to a great extent in Great Britain, and was not even set aside by the establishment of Christianity; and even within the historical period, many broad lands belonging to the Church in Wales continued to be an asylum for the flocks and herds of the patron saint. Such also was the practice of the Druidical establishment, which some traveller before Strabo's age had visited and described.

Whether the Romans after the destruction of Carthage kept up a direct communication with Western Britain from the vicinity of Gadeidra, is not known to me. Polybius might have told us, but his promised explanations have not reached us. The revelations of Julius Cæsar are only partial; he complains of being left in total ignorance owing to the obstinacy of the merchants, who refused to give him any information; nevertheless, his descriptions of the insular form, and of the dimensions of Great Britain, are more accurate and truthful than any which succeeding writers, whether Greek or Latin, have left on record; and he might have condescended to notice the resources, both commercial and internal, whence the Veneti were enabled to maintain that formidable and well-equipped fleet, which chance, rather than superior skill, enabled him to destroy. Diodorus Siculus, with the pages of Cæsar's *Commentaries* before him, gives a very different account of South-Western Britain, which he must have derived from some other source than Julius Cæsar. He says (lib. v. cap. lv.)—

“Those who inhabit that part of Britain which is adjacent to the promontory called Belerium, are exceedingly hospitable. They are moreover, owing to their intercourse with foreign merchants, civilized in their habits.”

He then describes them as skilful miners, smelters, and refiners, and as conveying their tin, fashioned into cubical blocks, to a certain island, whither foreign merchants resorted, who carried it across into Gaul, and conveyed it by land-carriage to the mouth of the Rhone. This trade across Gaul into the Mediterranean could hardly have been carried on successfully before the Roman conquest of Gaul; so that Dion Cassius ascribes to Mark Antony the statement, "that Julius Cæsar made every thing so secure as even to render *Celtica and Britain accessible from Gaul*." So ended the long-continued intercourse between Britain and the Eastern world, through the Pillars of Hercules. But of the remote antiquity of this intercourse, in addition to the evidence of bronze, I proceed to give two proofs from ancient Celtic coins as yet said to be found only in Gaul, yet commemorative of that religious institute which was first brought from the Eastern world to Spain and Great Britain, and transferred to Gaul on one side, and on the other to Ireland, called a sacred isle even in the age of the Carthaginian Himilco.

Previous to my own observations on the subject, I introduce the following quotation from Eckhel's celebrated Preface (p. 63) to his great work, *De Doctrina Numorum*, where he is discussing the question of Gallic coins, and the figures impressed upon them. "Of these minute sigilla" he writes:—

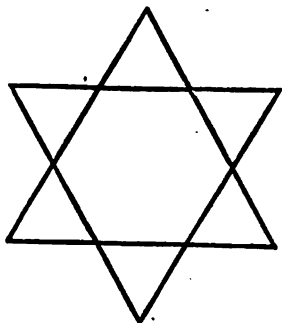
"The most common form is the pentagon, the same as is found on the coins of Velia, Nuceria, of the Ptolemies, and especially of Pitane, in Mysia. At first I did not value this 'sigillum' so highly as to induce me to hope, what I more lately found to be the case, that it could in some degree contribute to the illustration of the theology and philosophy of the Gauls. Hear then how this was effected. All agree that the doctrine of the Druids, whom the Gauls had constituted the arbiters of sacred and profane law, was the Pythagorean. Cæsar especially gives his testimony to this fact:—'That they wish to persuade men that souls do not perish, but pass after death from the bodies last occupied into other bodies, and they think that by this doctrine their valour is greatly roused, seeing death brings with it no terror.' Now, we can easily understand that this is a Pythagorean dogma, although Cæsar has not mentioned the name of Pythagoras. Diodorus Siculus also expressly affirms that the Gauls were imbued with the principles of Pythagoras:—'As among them the doctrines of Pythagoras prevailed, that the souls of men are immortal, and live again after entering another body.' Moreover, Ammianus thus writes:—'Among these are the Druids, men of superior genius, who, as the school of Pythagoras holds, openly announce the immortality of the soul.' This dogma was so inveterate among the Gauls that some expressed a belief

that Pythagoras borrowed his system from the Gauls. Clemens Alexandrinus writes that this was commonly believed. After settling these points, let us return to our pentagon—the cause of this discussion. According to the testimony of Lucian it was regarded by the Pythagoreans as a sacred symbol—'Being the triple triangle mutually implicated, consisting of five lines, and which is called by them *Hygeia* (that is, health or preservation); and I will show that the Pentagon on the coins of Pitane occupies the place which in other cases is occupied by the figure of Hygeia herself,' and this he afterwards performed."

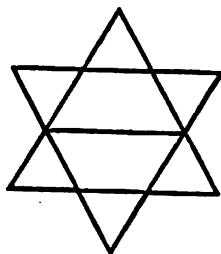
The first inference to be drawn from the beautiful combination of this mathematical figure, and which Lucian expressly ascribes to the Pythagorean school of divinity and philosophy, is, that its constructors were thoroughly conversant with geometrical figures of the most complicated character. Now, if a Greek philosopher, on being shipwrecked on an unknown coast, could, on discovering a right-angled triangle roughly delineated on the sand of the seashore, exclaim, "I recognize the traces of a human being," much more reason have we to express a belief that those who first adopted this elegant, although complicated, figure as the holy symbol of "Salus" (or the conservative power) must not only have been deep proficient in mathematical knowledge, but also great admirers of the truth expressed by the geometrical symbol. Such, we know, were the principles and practice of the Italian school of philosophy, who, in a later age, were called Pythagoreans, after a supposed founder of the sect named Pythagoras. But Aristotle, who in his works had often to encounter the doctrines of their school, never once mentions the name of Pythagoras. It is now absurd to ascribe a system, so widely diffused over the more ancient civilized world, to a Pythagoras of Samos, supposed to have been born and bred in an age when Hellenic free thought had already commenced its course, and was shattering to the very basis those symbolic and labyrinthine edifices under which the truth, as revealed from the beginning, was smothered and almost extinguished.

One might imagine, that of all symbols the mathematical diagram should have been the most innocent and least liable to abuse; but the fact is, that no class of symbols have been more perverted to the purposes of superstition and deception than those based upon lines and numbers.

The single equilateral triangle is to this day regarded in Hindostan as the symbol of Siva, and is represented on the water-jars of his worshippers. On this subject it will be sufficient to refer the reader to a remarkable paper on the Sri Tantra, or double equilateral triangle. It is written by E. C. Ravenshaw, and is to be found in vol. xiii. part i. page 71, of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It is full of important information respecting the use of these mathematical figures among religious Hindoos, and the doctrines which are connected with them, as interpreted by modern Brahmins. It is curious that these are to this day essentially identical with the tradition recorded by Lucian. Mr. Ravenshaw says:—"It is a singular fact, that the double equilateral triangle which is engraved on the Sri Tantra, and whose origin and mean-



Sri Tantra, or Khat Kon Chakra.

David's Shield,
and Seal of Solomon.

ing have been above explained, is stated in Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia* to have formed one of the most usual amulets worn by the Jews, and known by them as the shield of David, and the seal of Solomon." Mr. Ravenshaw adds:—"It is difficult to determine to what nation this mystical symbol owes its origin, but it seems to have been common to all the primeval religions of Asia,"—and now, it may be added, and also to the primeval religion of Great Britain and Western Gaul, on the indisputable evidence of their ancient coins.

Among the Gallic coins is one which is thus described by M. de Saussaye, one of the best Gallic numismatists of the day. I quote from the *Revue Numismatique*, A.D. 1842, page 165.

I ought to premise, that there are two schools of numismatists in France: one which can only see in the coins of ancient Gaul a servile imitation of Greek models, and to this school M. de Saussaye once belonged; the other, which would claim for the ancient mint of Gallia independent action and original insertion of types peculiar to themselves. I now proceed to give the author's own account of the coin:—

“*Ob.* A head naked, and looking to the left.—*R.* A figure borne on an arrow, with wings springing from his shoulders instead of arms—gold.

“M. de Lelewel had good reason to reproach me with laying, in respect to Celtic coins, too great a stress upon the argument that they were imitations of the monetary types of Greece, and that they exhibited proofs of a gradual deterioration from their models. Since the commencement of my researches respecting these coins, I have been induced to modify my assertion on more than one point; and I particularly recognize religious ideas peculiar to the Celts expressed on their monetary types. The more I advance in the study of these types, the more clearly I see what important mythological truths may be gathered from them.

“If antiquity has bequeathed to us but incomplete descriptions respecting the religious belief of the Celtic nations, this precious golden coin which I now propose to illustrate, cannot fail to strengthen my present new position, for it refers incontestably to the Celtic creed. The myth of Abaris, of which it represents the principal feature, is one of those vague and rare reminiscences of the communications extremely ancient, between the religions of the mother countries of the ancient world and those of Greece.”—(See Coin No. 12. p. 285.)

This myth about Abaris—a Hyperborean to whom Apollo had presented an arrow, which he carried in his extensive travels, without eating any food—disturbed the rational spirit of Herodotus, and caused him to dismiss the subject in a very curt and contemptuous way. Among later writers, especially those of the Pythagorean school, Abaris became a favourite myth, and long accounts were invented respecting his high character as a sage, priest, and servant of the Hyperborean Apollo, who travelled from his native shores to Hellas, for the honour of his god, and for the purpose of gathering contributions for the decoration of his temple. It is said that, while travelling homewards with his contributions, he passed through Magna Græcia, where he came in contact with the Samian Pythagoras, in whose person he immediately recognized his own Hyperborean Apollo. This interview, if we could credit either tradition, or learned commentaries upon such tradition, had im-

portant results; for either Abaris became a follower of Pythagoras, and established among the Hyperboreans the system of Pythagoras, or the latter was initiated by the former in all the mysterious lore of the Druids, especially the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which from that period became a main tenet in the Pythagorean school.

It can, however, be easily shown that this peculiar tenet was held, both in Egypt and in Hindostan, many ages before the time of either the Samian Pythagoras or the Hyperborean Abaris.

The coin merely proves, first, that the symbol impressed upon its reverse was recognized by the mint, whence it was issued as a national emblem, and that the same fell under the observation of some of the Hellenes at a very early period. What doctrine was veiled under the symbol can now be only a matter of conjecture. Creuzer, the German mythologist, supposed that it was a hieroglyphic indicating the art of epistolary correspondence; nor does he fail to adduce specious arguments in support of his theory. Modern chronologers fix the epoch of Abaris about the end of the sixth century before Christ, during the time when the communications between Phocæa and Tartessus, and between Tartessus and Great Britain and Western Gaul, were free and open. The discovery of this coin completely settles the position of the Hyperboreans, and proves that while the religion of the ancient Gauls and Britons was the same, the name of Hyperboreans was not confined to that Hyperborean island described by Hecatæus.

M. de Saussaye comes to what seems to him a necessary conclusion, that if Abaris was a Northern Druid, he must have belonged to that portion of the Celtic race who are called Cimbres (Kymry).

But before entering into a more particular investigation of the Celtic coins, and the information to be derived from a study of their emblems, it will not be amiss to state a few facts respecting the coins of the ancient Western world. The particulars are drawn from Eckhel. In the most ancient coinage of

the Greeks, silver was the main material, although gold more rarely was stamped from the earliest times.

The coins of the first epoch, from the commencement of the practice to the death of Alexander the First of Macedonia, B.C. 461, were, comparatively speaking, of globose shape, very thick, and in some cases ugly and rotund. The Macedonian coins partly preserved the same character during the second epoch, between the death of Alexander and the accession of Philip the Second, B.C. 348. Even in the third epoch, when almost all other Greek coins were thin in substance and elegant in form, the staters of Philip bore still strong marks of the older type, and were of such a character that all British and Gallic coins are supposed to have been merely imitations of these staters. But still it is another question, whether this money be not struck after the model of some older Hellenic coins, struck before the year B.C. 461; and it would be particularly desirable to ascertain what the forms and emblems of the coins of the Phocæans and their neighbours were before the foundation of Massilia, B.C. 600. We are told distinctly by Herodotus, that the Lydians were the first people who stamped current coin (*νόμισμα*). The conquest of Lydia, B.C. 549, by the Persians would necessarily close the Lydian mint. But the predominance of Croesus and his ancestors over the Hellenic Ionians must have given ample currency to the Lydian coins. It would consequently be very advantageous to our inquiry to ascertain the form and fabric of the Lydian mintage.

My own firm conviction is, that it is a gross absurdity to suppose that the coins of Philip the Second of Macedonia could have been the models of the British pieces to which the name of Cunobelinus, either in full or in some abridged form, is attached; for the Italians, Gauls, Romans, and Carthaginians, presented an insuperable barrier between the Hellenic world and Great Britain, from the days of Philip of Macedon until the invasion of Great Britain by Julius Cæsar. I also believe that many of the British coins are many centuries older than the Cunobelinus, the contemporary of Augustus.

Now, with respect to the Roman coins, they were from the commencement made of brass alone; nor did they coin any silver pieces until about B.C. 250, after the wars with Pyrrhus. Specimens of Roman gold coins are very rare before the last of the twelve Cæsars had terminated his reign. This argument is well managed by Eckhel in the same preface before quoted:—

“We infer from Strabo that the Gauls, previous to their conquest by the Romans, had current coins peculiar to themselves. He writes that Lucernius, king of the Arverni, the father of that Bituitus, who waged war against Fabius Maximus, scattered among the people gold and silver coins. I find it necessary to establish this point, that those gold coins were either the produce of some mint foreign to Rome, and imported into Gaul from Rome, or that they were the native produce of Gaul. I cannot possibly admit that they were Roman. Bituitus waged war with Fabius U.C. 633 (B.C. 120); his father therefore must have flourished about the commencement of the same century (B.C. 153); but at that period there was no gold coinage at Rome, or, if there was, the pieces must have been most rare.”

But the whole subject of Gallic and British coins will be resumed in another essay.



ON ONE SOURCE OF
THE NON-HELLENIC PORTION OF THE LATIN
LANGUAGE.

PAYNE KNIGHT, no mean name among philologists, after a masterly and convincing proof, that neither Zenodotus nor Aristarchus, the great critics of the Alexandrian school, could be acquitted of the charge of "scarcely credible ignorance" of the primitive form of the Homeric language, thus proceeds:

"The grammarians and critics of Alexandria were all guilty of the same fault. They never investigated the original sources of the language, but classed among anomalous dialects and poetic licenses every thing that was not in unison with their own usual style of speaking. In their age there existed many clews to the inquiry, which have now disappeared, but which, at that time, might easily have been found in written records, and in the rude and semi-barbarous languages of Italy and other countries adjacent to Greece. Had any one, however, suggested to Aristarchus that the true form and character of the Homeric dialect was to be extracted from Latin, Tuscan, or Oscan languages, he would in my opinion have been as much astonished as if he had heard of the claims of the Irish antiquary, who affirmed that the Homeric poems had been translated furtively from the 'Gaelic into Greek.'"¹

Whatever might have been the astonishment of Aristarchus on being referred to the rude and semi-barbarous dialects of isolated and mountainous districts for a resolution of his philological difficulties, every man acquainted with the subject knows that the great superiority of the modern over the ancient philologists is not attributable solely to the successful prosecution of the study of comparative etymology—a science unknown to the ancients—but also to the careful examination of a mass of words and expressions preserved in ancient glossaries. Many of these, although not now to be found in classic authors, serve as clews to the discovery of meanings which, without their aid,

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 35.

must have remained unknown. In the works of Hesychius, Suidas, and in other semi-barbarous lexicons or glossaries, we have not only the corrupted, or rather, in many instances, the incorrupted, form of Greek words, but innumerable fragments of languages which have ceased to be spoken among men.

The scholars of our days are wiser than the one-eyed critics of the Alexandrian school; and we do not disdain the aid of every cognate language in explaining works composed nearly three thousand years ago. Even our own language and literature have experienced the beneficial influence of this example. Our English dictionaries are assuming a more scientific form; and the language daily receives new light and vigour from the publication of provincial glossaries, which cease not to issue from the press. But the English glossaries alone will not suffice. For (with due respect to Dr. Jamieson be it said) it will eventually be found true, as has been lately suggested by a writer admirably qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, that no satisfactory thesaurus of our magnificent and copious language can ever be completed without the aid of Celtic scholars.

I speak from knowledge, when I say that the Anglo-Saxon is deeply tinged with the language of the Britons of Wales, Cornwall, and Armbrica, and that the meaning of countless words, commonly regarded as pure Saxon, will in vain be sought in the forests of Germany or the wilds of Scandinavia. Even household terms, the language of every-day life, without the aid of scholars acquainted with the primitive language or languages of these islands, must be handed down to posterity as mystic signs devoid of meaning. But of this at another time.

My present object is to show that a portion of even the Latin vocabulary is to be referred to the same primitive language still spoken within this island, and which was once the medium of intellectual intercourse between no small section of the inhabitants of south-western Europe.

I need not mention that the question, whether the original population of Italy was to be regarded as Celtic, Hellenic, or

Teutonic, has been argued ponderously and learnedly. But the result has not been either conclusive or satisfactory. I omit the claims advanced in favour of the Semitic or of the Slavonian origin of this population, as being barely entitled to a serious consideration. Even in examining the mode in which the pretensions of the first-named races have been either affirmed or denied, we must be compelled to express our wonder that prudent men could have ever hoped to bring their labours to a successful termination. Not one of those who piled volume on volume on the subject, seems to have possessed the necessary knowledge. The very elements of the science, by which the problem was to be solved, were unknown to them. Some were Greek, Latin, and French or Italian scholars. Others, to the knowledge of these, added an intimate acquaintance with the Teutonic dialects. But this was not enough. A thorough knowledge of the Latin itself, of the Greek, and of one type at least of the Celtic and Teutonic dialects, must precede a successful examination of the claims of the three cognate families. But hitherto no one thus qualified has entered the field.

Early in life, I became satisfied that nothing could be done in clearing away the cloud that sinks deep and dense on the early history of Europe, without an extensive and accurate knowledge, not only of the language, but also of the literature, laws, habits, and religion of the three races. I had seen enough of the errors committed by one-eyed scholars, to satisfy me that the greatest caution is necessary in assigning their several sources to disputed words, and that the comparative etymology which is grounded on index-hunting alone, and consists in the juxtaposition of words similar in form, and casually, perhaps, in sense, is more likely to lead to error than to the truth. What would be thought of a person who, without a knowledge of the grammar and construction of a Greek verb, should, from a Greek index, attempt to find the various forms in which the word *τείνω* is found in Grecian literature? What guide could he have in placing *τεταμαι* as its perfect passive, or *σταθην* as its historical sense, in the same voice? But it may be said that

such knowledge as is required must be beyond the reach of any individual, and can scarcely be attained in the course of a long life. This is, I fear, too true, although it is only of late that I have been compelled to adopt the conclusion.

The Greek and Latin language and literature, I must, from my situation, be supposed to understand. The Cumrian¹ or Welsh was known to me from my childhood, both colloquially and as the language of popular poetry, and of the public service of the Church. But there exists a long series of literary works, extending from certainly the seventh to the fifteenth century, to which an acquaintance with the colloquial popular and ecclesiastical dialects furnished no sufficient key. To master these the study of more than one form of the language was necessary, and, to a certain extent, the task was achieved. The prose style of our most ancient chronicles, triads, and laws, is familiar to me, and I can read with satisfaction most of the works of the bards, as far back as the twelfth century. But there remains a body of poetry, ascribed to Aneurin, Taliesin, and other well-known names, which, if Cumrian, is Cumrian in a very suspicious form. This language I do not altogether understand, nor, according to my belief, is it completely understood by any man living. The words are Celtic, and individually recognizable, but their meaning, when strung into sentences, requires an Œdipus. In confirmation of this, I appeal to the various attempts which profess to be translations of the *Gododin* of Aneurin. With the Anglo-Saxon literature, both for its antiquity and extent, the best representative of the ancient Teutonic, I do not profess an accurate acquaintance. I have read much of it, and have studied its vocabulary and grammar with care, but cannot call myself an Anglo-Saxon scholar. To a general knowledge of the modern languages of the south-west of Europe, I can add a slight acquaintance with the Gaelic and Basque tongues.

¹ Much error, both in history and geography, would have been avoided, had the names by which nations denominated themselves been alone used to designate them. Welsh was the general name by which the German tribes designated all the Roman provincials whose territories they invaded, but especially the Italians.

In a course of study thus followed up, with occasional excursions into other paths of knowledge, for more than twenty years, it has been my fortune to make, as I conceive, some important discoveries. Had I the command of the requisite time, they might be embodied in one great work; but as that is not the case, I willingly avail myself of the medium of this Society, in order to communicate some detached fragments to those who take an interest in such studies. I confine myself, on the present occasion, to the subject of the original population of central Italy, and to the question which I intend to affirm, that it was of the Cumrian or Cimbrian race, cognate with the Cumri of our island, and that their language formed some portion of the non-Hellenic elements of the Latin tongue. To pave the way for this, I propose to show that the Umbri, an ancient people of Italy, were of the same race and lineage with those who within our islands call themselves Cumri, and that they, through their colonies, formed no small part of the original population of Rome.¹ We are told by Florus, "that the Umbri were the most ancient people of Italy;"² by Pliny,³ that "they were deemed to be the most ancient nation of Italy;" by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁴ that the "Ombrici were a nation of peculiar greatness and antiquity."

Herodotus⁵ states, that the Lydian Tyrsenians (according

¹ It is my intention to write the words as they sound to the ear, not as they appear disguised in the modern spelling of the Welsh, a spelling which has done more to throw the language into obscurity, and render its very appearance disgusting to the eye of a civilized man, than all other causes put together. It not only has done this, but has absolutely served to render it more obtruse to the Cumri themselves. The vowel w, equal in power to the double o in wood, I shall retain, and ū with two points over it, to represent the sound ee. The soft sound of the d I shall leave unmarked, as it was in the older writers.

² *Antiquissimus Italia Populus*, lib. i. cap. 17.

³ *Genus Antiquissima Italia*, lib. iii. cap. 14.

⁴ *οι ομβρικοι. εθνος εν τοις πανο μεγα και αρχαιον.* Lib. i.

ομβροα γενος γαλατων και σελπιων. *Tzetzes, Lyc.* cap. 199.

To these may be added the testimony of the Historical Fragments ascribed to Varro: "Ex his venisse Janum seu Ogri et Gallis progenitoribus Umbro-
rum." Ed. Lugd. 1560.

⁵ Book i. cap. 94.

to him, the germ of the Tuscan race) settled among the people called by the Greeks Ομβρικοί, and supposed by some of their writers to have derived their name from their having survived the general deluge [ομβρος]. We also learn from him that their country was of great and indefinite extent. In the words of Niebuhr, "It stretched to the foot of the Alps, for the rivers Karpis and Alpīs, one of which is certainly represented by the Inn,¹ flowed from the country above the Umbrici." According to Scylax,² Umbria included Picenum, as he places Ancona within its limits.

From Pliny³ we further learn that the Tuscans took no less than three hundred towns from the Umbri, in other words, "that the whole Tuscan territory had once been Umbrian." From these authorities it is evident that the Umbri, at a remote period, occupied the greatest portion of Northern Italy. The Ligurians,⁴ a nation confessedly Celtic, seem to have shared the country with them. In historical times these are described as possessing the upper vale of the Po, the Maritime Alps, and the Northern Apennines, while the Umbri were confined to the central group, the most important natural fortresses of Italy. The whole of the original population of Eastern Italy, with the exception of those who took refuge in the central Apennines, was reduced under the power and influence of the Hellenic colonists, who encircled the southern peninsula with a line of Grecian cities of surpassing wealth and magnificence. But time has grudged to us the knowledge of the history of Sybaris, Crotona, Elea, and Pæstum. We read that Sybaris was once

¹ Herod. lib. iv. cap. 49.

Εκ δὲ τῆς κατωτέρῃ χώρας ομβρικών Κάρπισ ποταμός καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπίς ποταμός, πρὸς βορρῇ ρέοντες ἀνέμουν, καὶ ὅντοι καλεῖσθαι εἰς Ἰστρὸν.

² Page 6.

³ Lib. iii. cap. 14. "Tercentum eorum oppida Tusci debellasse referuntur."

⁴ The Ligurians were themselves Ambrones, or Ombro-nes, as is evident from the story told by Plutarch in the life of Marius:—"The Ambrones came on crying out Ambrones, Ambrones; this they did either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the first of the Italians that moved against them, and when they heard the enemy cry Ambrones

the chief of five-and-twenty cities, and of four nations, and that it could bring three hundred thousand warriors into the field. Crotona was not inferior in arms, arts, or philosophy ; but internal dissensions, the destruction of the enlightened classes by a riotous democracy, and the fatal aid of their half-conquered subjects, the native tribes, hurried them to a premature decay. Sybaris fell A.C. 508, barely within the verge of accredited history, and Crotona soon followed : destined, however, to a more lingering death by the hands of the barbarian Brutii. The Lucanians, a mountain tribe, which had taken the lead in the attacks upon the Grecian States, had undoubtedly imbibed some portion of Grecian civilization. In Niebuhr's¹ words, " Hereditary enemies as they were, they nevertheless acquired the language to such a degree, that their ambassador filled the popular assembly at Syracuse with surprise and enthusiasm by his pure Doric. Nor would the authors of Pythagorean Treatises have used the titles of imaginary Lucanians, had it not been notorious that this philosophy had found reception there, or had it been unusual for Lucanians to write Greek."

If the fate of these colonies, whose foundation is supposed to fall within the bounds of history, be so obscure and unknown, what can be said of Arpi and Canusium, connected with Greece by mythology alone? Strabo² infers from their remains, "that they were the greatest of the Italiot cities." Yet Arpi is first mentioned in history as an Apulian city of no importance, of which the Romans possessed themselves without difficulty. In confirmation of Strabo's authority, we have the strongest modern testimony :³—"Those writers, however, who have traced the circuits of the Walls of Canusium from the remaining vestiges, state, that they must have embraced a circumference of

they echoed back the word, which was their own ancient name." The English reader may not know that the Cumrian name for England is to this day Loiger or Liguria.

¹ Vol. i. p. 84.

² Strabo, vi. 248.

³ Cramer's *Italy*, vol. ii. p. 92.

sixteen miles ; and antiquaries dwell with rapture on the elegance and beauty of the Greek vases of Canosa, which (according to Millingen) in point of size, numbers, and decoration, far surpass those discovered in the tombs of any other ancient city, not even excepting Nola." It is in vain for us to attempt to raise the veil, and to form conjectures concerning the state of Italy, both central and maritime, when a city of this magnitude and magnificence could have been founded, and have flourished in this apparently unfavourable position.

Is it not equally vain to ask, who were the destroyers of a power which could build such cities, of a civilization so advanced as this? History, indeed, is silent, but the occupation of the country by the Lucanians and Apulians leaves us no room to doubt as to the agents in the work of destruction. The original Apulia, according to Strabo, was a small tract of country immediately to the south of the Frentani, whence they must have spread over the larger province which, in consequence of the conquest, was called after their name.

The reaction of the native population against the foreign colonists, which proved thus fatal in the south, was carried on with equal energy in central Italy by the Samnites, who assailed with equal fury and success both the Greek colonies and Tuscan invaders of Campania. The Samnites, like the Lucanians, were Sabellians by blood, of Sabine race, and cognate with the Marsi, Marrucini, Peligni, Hernici, Vestini, Hirpini, and Frentani. If, therefore, we can trace the origin of the Sabines themselves, we at once discover the origin of all the tribes that sprang from them. In the words of Niebuhr,¹ "The Italian national migrations came down like others from the North ; and Cato's opinion that the origin of all the Sabellians was derived from the neighbourhood of Amiternum, admits of no other rational meaning than that the most ancient traditions, whether they may have been Sabine or Umbrian, assigned that district as the habitation of the people who conquered Reate." The same author² says, "Strabo calls the Sabines autochthons. This

¹ In the chapter on the Sabelli and Sabini, vol. i.

² Same chapter.

name, applied to a people whose spreading so clearly falls within the historical period, can only mean that they cannot be taken for any colony from any nation out of Italy." The question is thus very considerably narrowed, and we have only to ascertain whether they are the offshoot of any other people in Italy or not. To this a satisfactory answer can be given, because Zenodotus of Troezen, a writer quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as the author of a history of the Umbri, and who must be supposed to have examined into the subject, expressly asserts that the Sabini were originally Umbrians. 'These are his words:—"The Sabines, who are indigenous, inhabited first the Reatine District, but being driven thence by the Pelasgi, entered that country which they still inhabit, and having changed their name, together with their situation, were called Sabini instead of Umbri."¹

To connect the Sabini with the original population of Rome is an easy task. Whatever was the origin of Alba, the supposed metropolis of Rome, its blood could not have entered largely into the veins of the Roman people. According to the national tradition, the first occupiers of the strongholds which became the site of Rome were a half-pastoral, half-bandit race, composed probably of the broken men of many a tribe; but according to the same tradition, the mothers of the second generation of Rome were all Sabines. 'This would make all the children half Sabine in blood, and far more so in language and feeling. When to this we add that the same tradition assigns to the young state a new settlement, which brings King Tatius and his countrymen into the city in equal numbers, and with equal privileges, the portion of Roman blood, not Sabine, is reduced to one-fourth at least. Moreover, had not the habits, laws, and institutions been essentially Sabine in the early ages of the Republic, the creation of a Sabine legislator in the person of Numa, the citizen

¹ Lib. ii. p. 49.—Ζηνοδοτος δὲ Τροιζηνίος, συγγραφεὺς Οὐμβρικοῦ ἐθνοῦς, ἀντιγενεὺς ἰστορεῖ το μὲν πρῶτον οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ρεατινὴν, ἐκείθεν ὅτε Πηλασγῶν ἐξελθεύσας, εἰς ταύτην ἀφικεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐθὰ νῦν οἰκοῦσιν, καὶ μεταβαλόντας αὐὰ τῇ τοπικῇ τὸννομα Σαβίνους ἐξ Οὐμβρικῶν προσαγορευθῆναι.

of the Sabellian Cures, would never have been invented, much less tolerated. And had not the mass of the population been decidedly Sabine in its inclinations, the State would not, after the losses and disgrace of the war with Porsena, have recruited its exhausted strength by the admission of Atta Clausus, with five thousand Sabines, into the full rights and privileges of Roman citizens. It may therefore be safely inferred, that the great body of the original population of Rome was of Sabine, that is, of Umbrian, race and blood.

The next step is to prove that this Umbrian race was cognate in blood and language with our own Cumrians. In appealing to ancient testimony, it will be at once felt that much cannot be expected which will throw any light upon the subject; yet, contrary to such an expectation, there do exist certain testimonies of the clearest nature. The first is that of Cornelius Bocchus, a learned friend and freedman of Sylla, who, according to Solinus, "completely proved that the Umbri are an offset of the ancient Gauls."¹ To give its full weight to this testimony, we ought to remember that Sylla, the patron of Bocchus, had every reason, both during the social war and in his wars against the Marians and their allies, to institute the most serious inquiries into the origin of the Sabellian tribes, and the circumstances that had changed them from their long-continued character of faithful allies, into the most powerful and inveterate enemies of Rome. The second testimony is that of Antonius Gniphio, a high name among Roman grammarians, himself a native of Cisalpine Gaul, and one of the most accomplished scholars of his day, to whose instruction even Julius Caesar owed much. Servius, Virgil's learned commentator, writes, "M. Antonius states that undoubtedly the Umbrians were the offspring of the ancient Gauls."² Isidorus,³ in his

¹ Solin. *Pol. Hist.* cap. 8.

Absolvit Umbros Gallorum veterum propaginem esse.

² Virg. *Serv.* p. 734, near the end of the twelfth book.

Sane Umbros veterum Gallorum propaginem esse refert.

³ *Origines*, lib. ix. cap. 2.

Origines, combines this double testimony by his statement, "The Umbrians are a nation of Italy, but the offspring of the ancient Gauls."

The opinion of these learned men that the Umbri were the descendants of the Galli Veteres cannot, of course, be wrested to prove that some very ancient preoccupation of Italy by Gauls took place at a period antecedent to history. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from such a statement is, that they were convinced by some evidence which has not reached us, that the Umbri and "Galli Veteres" were one and the same race.

It thus becomes an important question to inquire who these "Galli Veteres" were. They certainly could not be the Cisalpine Gauls who, within the historical period, had crossed the Alps and taken possession of the greatest part of the vale of the Po. Originally, as we have already seen, the plains of modern Lombardy were in the possession of the Umbri. The Tuscans dispossessed them, and in their turn were exterminated by the Transalpine invaders. But Ravenna and its vicinity, and the whole of the ancient Venetia, escaped both the Tuscan and Gallic yoke. The very same position which made them the last resource of the Romans of the Western empire, defended these fortresses amongst lagoons and marshes from the assaults of more early invaders. According to Strabo,¹ Ravenna was built by Thessalians, and surrendered to the Umbri; hence it is called by Pliny a Sabine, that is, an Umbrian town. That Venetia was not conquered by the Tuscans is evident from the fact, that the Venetians were a powerful tribe as late as the year 390 A.C.; for in that year they made so vigorous an incursion into the territories of the Gauls, the invaders and captors of Rome, that, according to Polybius,² Brennus was induced by this powerful diversion to grant terms to the Romans besieged in the Capitol, and to return home. The Veneti, like the Ro-

¹ Strabo, book v. p. 214.

² Strabo.—Το δὲ Ἀριμινὸν Οὐμβρικὸν ἐστὶ κατοικία καθὰ περ καὶ ἡ Ραβέννα.—Book xi. cap. 18.

mans, claimed a Trojan descent, and referred to the *Ευετοί* of Asia Minor as the founders of their name and race. They,¹ like the Romans, called the spot where their Eastern ancestors had landed by the sacred name of Troja. But the Greeks, who seldom regarded the testimony of a people themselves as sufficient proof of their origin, indulged in various speculations on this head. Strabo,² in one place, informs us, that some writers held that these Italian Veneti were colonies of the Gallic Veneti. In another place³ he states it as his own opinion, that the Gallic were the founders of the Italian Veneti, and that it was the similarity of the name alone that caused them to be referred to the Paphlagonian *Ευετοί*.

Without attaching any peculiar value to this opinion of Strabo, it might be adduced to prove that there were some stronger reasons than a mere similarity of name which led him to this conclusion. And there would probably be a similarity in language and habits between the Veneti on the Adriatic and their namesakes on the shores of the Western Ocean; and this clew, if carefully unravelled, may perhaps lead us to a discovery of who the "Veteres Galli" of Bocchus and Antonius were. Now, Polybius, a writer well acquainted from personal intercourse with all the tribes of the vale of the Po, thus speaks of the Veneti:⁴—"The territory thence stretching to the Adriatic is occupied by another nation *extremely ancient*; they are called Veneti; in habits and institutions not much differing from the *Κελτοί*, but using a various dialect." This has been by some of the most judicious inquirers into ancient history regarded as a conclusive testimony against the Celtic

¹ Festus, under Troja.

² Book v. p. 312—Περὶ τῶν Εὐετῶν διττός ἐστι λόγος, οἱ μὲν γὰρ, καὶ αὐτοὺς φασὶ Κελτῶν εἶναι ἀποικοῦς, τῶν ὁμωνύμων, Παρικελαιτῶν.

³ Book v. p. 195—Τούτους οἶμαι τοὺς οὐνιτοὺς οὐκίστας εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδριαν.

⁴ Τα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριαν ἤδη προσήκοντα γένος ἄλλο πάντ' το παλαιὸν διακατεσχέ. Προσαγορεύονται δὲ οὐνιτοί. τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τῇ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφερόντες Κελτῶν, γλῶττι δ' ἄλλως χρωμένοι.

origin of the Veneti; but if we admit such proof, we must also confess that all the Celtic tribes of Gaul were not cognate, for Strabo expressly affirms, "that these did not all speak the same language, but that some spoke dialects varying a little in form."¹ Even as late as the end of the fourth century after Christ, we have the express testimony of Sulpicius Severus, that there were two languages spoken in Gaul in his day, one called Celtic, the other Gallic.

The inference, on the contrary, ought to be, that they were originally of the same race, but changed in some respects by time and circumstances. This will appear more probable, if we take into consideration that it is impossible for any one acquainted with the ancient history, laws, and institutions of the Cumrian race, to recognize it in the accounts given by historians of the invaders of Italy under Bellovesus. Their blue eyes, red hair, and great stature, together with their pastoral rather than agricultural habits, are strong proofs that they differed from the Celtæ of midland Gaul. But a rational account of the various races between the Alps and the ocean, the Pyrenees and the Rhine, as recorded by ancient historians, is as yet a desideratum. The materials are ample, and the key for the solution of all difficulties will be found in an adequate knowledge of the Basque, the Cumrian, the Teutonic, and the Gaelic, which dialects alone, previous to the Greek settlements and Roman invasion, could have been spoken within those limits. It appears evident that various irruptions of the Northern nations into the South, prior to that of the Cimbri and Teutones A.C. 110, and of Ariovistus at a later period, had shattered the whole framework of society in Gaul, and precipitated the several races upon each other. Should we, therefore, wish to discover who were the "Veteres Galli," we must look for them in the natural fortresses of

¹ Strabo—*ὁμογενεῖς οὐ πάντας, ἀλλ' ἑτέρας μικρὸν παραλλοιπύνας γαίῃς γλωσσῶν.*

The *γλωσσῶν αλλοία* of Polybius is not, as is well known to every scholar, "another language," as it has been inaccurately translated, but a "variety in dialect."

France, where they could defend themselves both from the foreign invaders, and the mixed bands of half-bandits, half-warriors, who ceased not to infest the country after the main body of invaders had passed away.

Such a race were the Veneti of Western Gaul, so similar in their history, at an earlier period, to their kin-tribe in Italy. When the Roman empire was sinking under the repeated assaults of the Northern barbarians, the Italian Veneti sought refuge in their marshes and among their lagoons, where necessity soon compelled them to become a naval and commercial people. This had been the fate of the Gallic *Veneti*, at a period antecedent to history. For Julius Cæsar¹ found them a highly civilized people, intimately connected with Britain, hardy sailors, and masters of practical arts, unknown, or at least unrecorded, among Greek and Roman practices.² These Veneti, with their cognate tribes, the Osismii, Lexovii, Nannetes, Ambialites, and Diablintes, together with auxiliaries from the opposite coast of Britain, prepared to resist Cæsar. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty vessels of immense size and strength, built entirely of oak, and trusting to their sails alone, was destroyed by the row-galleys of the Romans, more owing to a chance calm than any other cause. The position of their cities, defended by "mœnibus," stone walls on tongues of land and promontories, to which there was no access except by sea, proves that a superior force had driven them for protection into such fortresses, which their naval skill and power could make good against land troops alone.³ That these Veneti were of the Cumrian race in Britain,

¹ Hujus civitatis est longè amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibuscum in Britanniam navigare consueverunt; et scientia et usu nauticarum rerum cæteros antecedunt; et in magno impetu maris, atque aperto, paucis portubus interjectis, quas tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eodem mari uti consueverunt, habent vectigales.—*Com. Bell. Gall.* lib. iii. cap. 8.

² Especially their chain-anchors and sails of finely tanned leather.

³ Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis linguis promontoriarum, neque pedibus aditum haberent, quum ex alto se æstus incita-

there can be no doubt; even the name of the present Cumri of North Wales is, if spelt after the Roman manner, the same, Gwined,¹ Venetia, Gwinedig Veneticus, Gwinedigion Venetici. The modern latinized form, Venedocia and Venedocians, are pure barbarisms, for which there is not the slightest analogical support.

The trade which alone could have enabled the Gallic Veneti to have maintained so powerful a navy, was, according to Cæsar, carried on with Britain, but assuredly not with that part of Britain which he afterwards invaded, as the Britons, with whom he came in contact, do not appear to have been acquainted with naval affairs, nor to have possessed a vessel larger than a coracle. The traffic of the Veneti must have been carried on with their kindred tribes in the west of the island, and in the Spanish peninsula. No Belgic tribe could possibly be classed among the *Veteres Galli*.

Of the race of the "*Veteres Galli*," were not only the Veneti, but also the *Ædui* and *Arverni*. Both these nations claimed the sovereignty of all Gaul, and seem to have been regarded as the natural chiefs² of the central tribes. The *Ædui* seem to have derived their name from *Æð* the Great,³ the father of Prudain, one of the three pillars of the race of the Cumri. Nor is it improbable that Cæsar's notion, "that all the Gauls held that they sprang from Father Dis, and that this was taught by the Druids," originated in a mistake, which led him to confound the Greek *Ἀδης* with the Cumbrian *Æð*

visset, quod his semper accidit horarum xii. spatio; neque navibus, quod, rursus minuente æstu naves in vadis afflicterentur. In utraque re oppidorum oppugnatione impediabatur. Ac si quando, magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his ferme manibus adæquatis, suis fortunis desperare cœperant; magno numero navium appulso, cujus rei summam habebant facultatem, sua omnia deportabant, atque se in proxima oppida recipiebant, ubi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant.—*Com. Bell. Gall.* lib. iii. cap. 12.

¹ See Pugh. *Dict.* under the words.

² Quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in *Æduis*.—Cæsar, lib. i. 48, Ut omni tempore totius Gallie principatum *Ædui* tenuissent.

³ Triad 2 and 34, &c.

the Great.¹ It is, moreover, difficult, without recurring to the affirmed consanguinity of the Umbri and the "Veteres Galli," to account for a circumstance so striking as the confession on the part of the Romans, "that the Ædúi were their brothers and kinsmen."² As this name was repeatedly conferred upon them by solemn decrees of the Senate, a name which, to the best of my recollection, was never conferred except upon nations supposed to have been connected with them by blood, it is a fair inference that a case in proof of a common origin was satisfactorily made out, before an honour of so high a nature could have been bestowed upon people of barbarian, and, what was more hateful, of Gallic race.³ The Arverni, the neighbours of the Ædúi, and who, from the natural strength of their country, might be expected to represent the "Veteres Galli," were, at a later period, allowed to assume the same honours, as we read in Lucan :⁴

Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres
Sanguine ab Iliaco populi.

It was undoubtedly in this common claim to a Trojan origin, a claim eventually to be traced to a common religion and religious rites, that we are to recognize the principle, which induced the Veneti, the Romans, the Arverni, and the Cumrians of our island, who, from the remotest antiquity, traced themselves to Troy and Asia Minor, to regard themselves as "fratres" and "consanguinei."

¹ Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt.—Cæsar, lib. vi. cap. 17.

² Imprimis quod Æduos fratres consanguineosque sæpenumero ab Senatu appellatos, videbat.—Lib. i. cap. 43.

³ Docebat etiam quam veteres, quamque justæ causæ necessitudinis ipsis cum Æduis intercederent : quæ Senatus consulta, quoties, quamque honorifice, in eos facta essent.—Lib. i. cap. 43.

⁴ Ὅτι οὗτοι ἐν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχον συγγενεῖαν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν κατ' ἡμᾶς χρόνον διαμένουσαν.—Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. p. 210.

Οἱ δὲ Ἔδουοι καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνομαζόντο.—Strabo, l. 193.

⁴ Book i. ver. 427 ; see also the testimony of Sidonius Appollinaris to the same effect.

This community of origin produced very marked political sympathies, which were of no small aid to the Romans in extending their empire. In the very romantic account given by Livy¹ of the passage of the Cimminian Ridge by a Fabius, and the defeat of the Etrurians in the vicinity of Perugia, one thing alone appears historical, that at a very remote period a league was concluded between the Romans and Camertian Umbrians, for the sake of mutual protection against the Tuscans. Of this treaty Cicero says,² that even in his time it was regarded "*sanctissimum et æquissimum*." From the same speech we learn that there was a similar treaty with the Umbrians of Iguvium. Wars with the Umbrians there were none, and the one battle which preceded their final submission to Rome, was, if we can believe Livy,³ almost a bloodless one. In the words of Cramer,⁴ "The Umbri appeared to have offered but little resistance to the Romans, nor is it improbable that this politic people took advantage of their differences with the Etruscans, to induce them at least to remain neuter, whilst they were contending with the latter power." Here, also, Cramer's opinion on the question,⁵ partly examined by me, may be advanced, and, as he had no hypothesis to maintain, great weight ought to be given to his conclusion:—"Zenodotus was of opinion that the Sabines were descended from the Umbri, and, although it is customary to regard them as belonging to the Oscan race, I see no reason why the latter people, who are very indistinctly classed and defined, should not be considered as descended from the same indigenous stock; nay, rather when we consider the analogy which is allowed to exist between the several ancient dialects of Italy, and the uniformity of topographical nomenclature which may be traced throughout a great part of the Peninsula, there seems to be a strong argument in favour of such a hypothesis. Considering, therefore, the Umbri as confessedly the most ancient people of Italy, I think we may safely ascribe to them

¹ Lib. ix. cap. 36.² *Oratio pro Balbo*.³ Lib. ix. cap. 4.⁴ Vol. i. 254.⁵ Do. 252.

the population of the central and mountainous parts of that country, as also the primitive form of its language, until the several communities of the Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins successively detached themselves from the parent nation, and, from a combination of different elements, adopted also different modifications of the same primeval tongue."

The history of the Veneti,¹ "in the words of the same author, contains little that is worthy of notice, if we except the remarkable feature, of their being the sole people of Italy who not only offered no resistance to the ambitious projects of Rome, but even at an early period rendered that power an essential service, if it be true, as Polybius reports, that the Gauls, who had taken Rome, were suddenly called away, by an incursion of the Veneti into their territory (ii. 18). The same author also expressly states, that an alliance was afterwards formed between the Romans and Veneti (ii. 23), a fact which is confirmed by Strabo (v. 216)."

This state of security and peace would seem to have been very favourable to the prosperity of the Venetian nation. According to an old geographer, they counted within their territory fifty cities, and a population of a million and a half; "when the Gauls had been subjugated, the Veneti do not appear to have manifested any unwillingness to constitute a part of the new province, an event which we may suppose to have happened not long after the second Punic War. Their territory from that period was included under the general denomination of Cisalpine Gaul, and they were admitted to all the privileges which that province successively obtained."

It is difficult to account for such a general and complete amalgamation, without suspecting that the two races, the Roman and Venetian, were originally the same, especially when we call to mind, that the invading Gauls of the vale of the Po had absolutely to be exterminated by their conquerors.

The *Ædui*² were the first of their countrymen to embrace

¹ Vol. i. p. 113.

² Strabo—Πρωτοι των ταυτη προελθον προς την φελιαν και συμμαχιαν.

the friendship and alliance of Rome, and continued to a late period to partake of the advantages therefrom resulting. Pliny calls them in his day "Foederati," and their neighbours the Arverni, "Liberi." Even as late as the age of Sidonius Apollinaris,¹ the latter nation still prided themselves on their Roman blood, and supposed descent from Italy.

Est mihi quæ Latio se sanguine tollit alumnam,
Tellus clara viris.

It is well known that the Cumri of our island claim a Trojan origin, and that this tradition was held by them long before the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that even Nennius gave a historical aspect to the belief. We read in the life of Agricola, that the Britons embraced with avidity the prominent arts of Roman civilization, a circumstance which an examination of history should induce us to regard as almost impossible, except in cases where the cognation of the victors and the vanquished is very close.

On the whole, it may therefore be regarded as proved, that there were at the earliest period, when the history of Western Europe commences, fragments of a great nation to be found in the fastnesses and natural fortresses of Italy, Gaul, and Great Britain,² who all agreed in claiming a common origin, and in tracing it, directly or indirectly, to a name called by them Troy.

Having thus shown, from important testimonies, the close union between the original population of Rome and the Umbrians, and between the Umbrians, Romans, "Veteres Galli," and Veneti, and the Cumri of our island, it now remains that we should examine into the language of the Umbri, and its

¹ Sidon. Apollinar. *Poem.* 62.

² Tacitus, 21. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent, inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paullatimque discessum ad de linimenta vitiorum porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

close connection with the language of the Cumri. If the Iguvinian or Eugubian tables were really Umbrian, this might be supposed to furnish us with a certain test as to the identity of the two languages. But this they assuredly do not. The double set of characters, and the very imperfect representation in the tables written in Latin characters, of the sense contained, or supposed to be contained, in those inscribed with ancient Greek letters, are in themselves a proof, that the language of the latter was a sacred one, known to a few alone, and not therefore to be accounted the language of the country. They are evidently hymns, composed by priests, similar in character to the Curetes, Idæi Dactyli, Telchines, Orphic Initiators, and other such colleges, whose mission it was to communicate the blessings of corn and wine, under religious and mysterious sanctions, to those nations, which had not previously been made acquainted with those main supports of civilized life.

Among these names, the Pelasgi occupy a conspicuous station, not, however, as teachers of the art of agriculture and vine-dressing, but as hewers of stone and builders of fortresses and cities. It would be most difficult to prove that they ever were a distinct nation, but it is clear that they belonged to that race, call them Trojans, Pelasgians, Thracians, Phrygians, or any other equivalent name, who sunk under the superior energies of the Achæan and Hellenic races. Pelasgus, the patron saint or mythological representation of the Pelasgi, is described by Pausanias,¹ as the person "who first invented huts to defend mankind from the cold and rain." Even Fynes Clinton, with all his judgment and sagacity, cannot press this Pelasgus into the historical curriculum, without multiplying him into five distinct personages, a clear proof that there is not the slightest rational ground for clothing him at all with a real existence. That the Pelasgi were everywhere to be found, is most true, in Asia, in Crete, in the other islands, in Thrace, Thessaly, Epirus,

¹ Lib. viii. cap. 1.

Πελαγός δὲ βασιλευσας. τούτῳ μὲν ποιήσασθαι καλυβας ἐπεινοῦσιν, ὡς μὴ ῥιγούοντας
αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Peloponnesus, and Italy; but it is impossible to prove that they were a race distinct in blood from the other older inhabitants of those countries. This view of the subject is rendered more probable by the only account of Pelasgi which can be regarded as historical. According to Herodotus, in a well-known passage, certain Pelasgi had agreed, for a stipulated reward, to surround the Athenian Acropolis with a wall. They performed their bargain, but were afterwards expelled by the Athenians, first to Lemnos, and at a later period from Lemnos to the Hellespont. Now, it is from the language of these Hellespontian Pelasgi that Herodotus drew his conclusions as to the original dialect of the older Pelasgi. But Pausanias¹ informs us that he had ascertained that they were originally Siceli, and had passed over into Acarnania. The leaders of these erratic stonemasons are called by the same author *Αγρολας* and *Υπερβιος*,² literally "stone-griper," and "very strong," names which betray their fabulous origin, and which can no more be regarded as historical than the Eucheir and Eugrammus, the two Corinthian artists who are supposed to have attended Demaratus into Tuscany. As a proof that the more uncommon form of the Eugubian inscription is a remnant of the older Greek, I give the following specimen from the beginning of one of the tables, with the omission of the first line:—

2. Famerias Pumplerias XII Atiiriate etre Atierate.
3. Clavernie etre Clavernie. Kuriate etre Kuriate.
4. Satane etre Satane. Pieriate etre Pierate. Talenas
5. Etre Talenate. Museiate etre Museiate. Iviscano
6. Etre Iviscano. Caselate etre Caselate. Tertie Caselate.

In this list of communities, or rather of colleges, we see distinctly the first and second of the Curiate or Curetes, the first

¹ Paus. lib. i cap. 28.

Τῇ δὲ ἀκροπόλει πλὴν ὅσον Κίμων ἐκδομήσιν αὐτῆς ὁ Μελιτιάδου, περιβαλεῖν το λοιπὸν τοῦ τειχοῦς Πελασγοῦς, οἰκησαντὸς ποτὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκροπόλιν φασὶ γὰρ Ἀγρολὰν καὶ ὑπερβίον. πυνθανομένου δὲ διτινὲς ἦσαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδύναμην μαθεῖν ἢ Σικελὸς το ἐξάρχης ὄντας Ἀκαρνανίαν μετακίησαι.

² *Αγρο-αγρὰ, ε. γ. πυρ-αγρὰ, a smith's forceps, and λα.ας, a stone. ὑπερ, exceedingly, and β.α, force.*

and second of the Musciate or Muses, the first and second of the Pieriate or Pierides, the constant companions of the Orphic priests. The rest of the inscription is nothing more than a long repetition of the names and titles of *Juvia Pater*, upon the same plan as the Orphic indigitamenta.

Throwing aside, therefore, for the present the consideration of the Eugubian Tables, as not furnishing us with a trustworthy specimen of the anterior language, I proceed to call other witnesses, to whom we can safely appeal when a question is raised about the identity of language spoken in various countries, the names of those eternal monuments (eternal at least as far as human testimony can reach), the mountains, vales, and rivers, and even cities, which, in all cases where extermination has not preceded occupation, preserve the mark impressed upon them by the primitive occupiers of the soil.

RIVERS.—And first of the rivers in Umbria, Venetia, or countries once occupied by the Umbri and their descendant tribes. And in making these selections, it will be my object to give specimens, not to accumulate all that can be gathered together.

The most general Cumrian name for a stream is gwy or wy (Wye), wys (Ouse Isis), and wysk (Esk). The word gwy¹ itself has perished in this island, and is only found in the names of rivers, such as Ed-wy, Myn-wy, Onwy, &c. In Italy we find the

Æsis.²

Bed-Æsis.³

Ath-Æsis.⁴

¹ For the sake of the general reader, if such should read so far, it should be mentioned that the Cumrian *w* is pronounced like the English *oo* in *good*, and that the *y* following it merely iotacizes the *oo*.

² A river in Picenum, now called Fiumesino (Flumen Æsinum).

³ Not far from Bononia, now called Ronco.

⁴ The Adige. Observe the tendency of the *v* or *w* to become *g*, *aev*-um, *Age*, &c.

Æs-ar-us.¹

Nat-Iso.²

Apr-Usa.³

Pad-Usa.⁴

Osa.⁵

Is.⁶

Aus-ar.⁷

Gal-Æsus.⁸

Ver-Esis, now L'osa, in Latium.

The Cumrian name for a river, next in importance, is Avon, the same word as the Latin Amn-is. It must be remembered by etymologists, that the Latin *m* was not our strong labial

¹ Now Isaro, near Crotona. Æs, water,—ar, mountain.

² Now Natisone, not far from Aquileia.

³ Now Ausa, not far from Ariminum. Wys apparently compounded with aper.

⁴ A branch of the Po. Pad-wys, water of the *Pad*, called by Polybius Padoa. Now called the Po de Primano.

⁵ Osa retains its name, a small river not far from Cosa.

⁶ Is, now Issa, between Petilia and Velia.

⁷ Ausar, now Serchio, near Pisa.

⁸ The Tarentine stream, so celebrated by poets, now called Galeao. This, among many others, may be quoted as a proof of the indestructibility of names, except by the absolute extermination of the inhabitants. The Dorians of Tarentum gave it the name of Eurotas, after their own Laconian stream; and in the days of Polybius it was, as we are informed by him, more generally termed the Eurotas. But as Greek influence declined, the original name prevailed, and the Galeosus has been immortalized in many a poet's verses. Assuredly, it is not owing to chance that the two words meant the same thing, the one in the Cumrian, the other in the Greek language. *Ev-pw-r-as*, the fair stream; *Gâl-wys*, fair water. In Owen's *Dictionary* we find the following explanation: *Gâl*, "clear," "fair."

Avon reawg ai hynt hîr mewn gwaündîr gâl.

A river running with its course long in meadow-land fair.

Here, perhaps, I ought to add, that the Bradanus, the largest stream which falls into the Tarentine Gulf, still called the Bradano, has its representative in the Guildford river in Surrey, which bore both the generic name "Wey," and the specific one Brad-an. The specific name has, however, I understand, perished among the people, although retained in history.

consonant, but a vocal sound corresponding to our English *w* at the end of words. Without this explanation, it is impossible to account for its perishable nature in verse at the end of words followed by vowels. In those terms which the Cumrians had in common with the Romans, and have since retained, the *w*, especially in the middle of words, becomes a *v*, thus—

Animal,	Anivail.
Numerus,	Niver.
Romani,	Rhuveiniaid.

Thus also Amn-is, Avn, Aven, and Avon, in Cumric; Aun and An in Gaelic. In its simple form we find in Italy only two,—

Aven-tia,¹

Savo;² to which should be added the Ufens³ and the Avens, a tributary of the Himella.

But in the names of places we find

Antemnæ and Antennæ,

Interamna repeatedly, and also a river Scultenna; whence it is credible that the word, in its contracted form of An, or Ann, or En, with the termination *us*, is often to be found as

Vom-an-us,⁴

Amas-en-us,⁵

Fibr-en-us,⁶ &c. &c.

¹ Now L'Avenza, near Luna.

² Now Savone, in Campania, after the manner of the Gallic Savona, now Saone; originally it was Avon Ara, the Slow River (*vide* Caesar's description of it, * lib. i. cap. 12). In time the specific name perished, the generic remained.

³ Now Aufente, in Latium.

⁴ Now the Vomano, in Picenum.

⁵ In the Pontine Marshes.

⁶ A tributary of the Liris; evidently the Beaver (Fiber) Stream.

* *Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Eduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum infuit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat judicari non possit.*—Ara means "slow."

The full meaning of this latter termination may be proved from the river *Gari-en-us* in Norfolk, now called the *Yare*, according to the common English custom of changing the older *g* into *y*.

To these should undoubtedly be added the celebrated

Clit-umn-us,¹

formed on the same principle as the Gallic *Garumna* (*Garw Avon*, *Rough River*). To these generic names of the rivers may be added a long list of Italian streams bearing the same names as rivers in our island. Such as the

Duria Major,²

Duria Minor,

Turia,

Sturia,

Timia,³

Tinna,⁴

The Umbro,⁵

¹ Still called *Clitunno*. That the *Clit* is a separable prefix is apparent from its being joined with *ernum*, a very common topographical affix, as *Clit-ernum*. The word is apparently synonymous with the Scottish and Welsh *Clyde*, which means in Cumrian "*warm*," *clüd*, a term equally applicable to the Italian and British rivers.

² *Dwr* is the common name among the Cumrian tribes for water, river, sea. The two *Duriæ*, tributaries of the Upper *Po*, are still called *Doria Baltea*, and *Doria Riparia*. The *Turia*, a small tributary of the *Tiber*, about six miles from *Rome*, is not recognized by modern geographers. The *Stura*, still retaining its ancient name, is also a tributary of the Upper *Po*. In the *Sussex Adur*, and the *Kentish Stour*, we still retain the original appellations. There was also a river in *Latium*, called both *Astura* and *Stura*, now *Store*.

³ Now *Timia*, in *Umbria*.

⁴ Still called *Tinna*, in *Picenum*. Both synonymous with our *Tyne*, and with another Italian *Tinea*, a tributary of the *Var*.

⁵ *Cramer*, vol. i. page 181, has the following observation:—"A short distance from the lake *Prilis* brings us to the mouth of the *Ombrone*, anciently *Umbro*, one of the most considerable rivers of *Etruria*. It is represented as navigable by *Pliny*, and its name, as the same writer observes, is indicative of the *Umbri* having once been in possession of *Etruria*." The strength of the argument is doubled by the occurrence of a second *Umbro* in *Etruria*, not far from *Arretium*, called by *Cramer*, *Ambra*, but written *Umbro* in the *Peutinger*

The Ambra,
 The Truentum,¹
 The Traens,
 The Liris,²
 The Farfarus.³

To these leading streams many others might be added : such as

The Suinus, the Cornish Heyne,
 Himella, pronounced Hivella, the Bedfordshire Ivel,
 Misus, and
 Misio, the Cumberland Mite, &c.

But these are enough to prove that the same people gave the names to the Italian and British rivers. Even the name of the Roman river itself was, in old times, pure Cumrian, Alb, a hill (*e.g.* Albyn, Scotland), and ul, water (see Owen's *Dict.*), whence the Latin uligo, &c., so that the Alb-ul-a meant the mountain stream, or the highland river. The more common

gerian Tables. The British Humber, or Humyr, is evidently the same name, and equally conclusive of the presence of the Umbri in Britain.

¹ Truentum, now called Tronto, is in Picenum. The Traens, not far from Sybaris, bears the modern name of Trionto. They are both evidently the same word : the first being the Latinized, and the other the Hellenized form. The Greeks seem, as I shall have further occasion to remark, to have formed imaginary nominatives, in order to reduce the Italian names to the analogy of their own declensions. The Saxon name of the great river Trent was Tre-onta, as well as Trenta ; a form which identifies the British with the two Italian streams, Tronto and Trionto. If these be compared with the Alpine Druentia, and the British Derventio, the modern Derwent, it will be inferred, that they were all originally the same word.

² Probably the same as the Gallic Liger (now Loire), especially if it be compared with the Saxon *Leire* (now Soar), the river of Leicester, originally Leger-ceaster, or Ligor-ceaster.

³ Near Gabii, now Farfa, evidently the British Wharfe.

Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, lib. v. cap. 6. "Sed de Tiberis nomine anceps historia, nam suum Etruria et Latium suum esse credit, quod fuerunt qui ab Thebri vicino regulo Veientum dixerunt appellatum Thebrim. Sunt qui Tiberim priscum nomen Latinum Albulam vocitatum literis tradiderunt." Compare the same author, *De Re Rustica*, lib. iii. cap. 1. "Lingua prisca et Græca Æolos Boeotii sine afflatu vocant collis *Tebas* ; et in Sabinis, quo e Græcia venerunt Pelasgi, etiam nunc ita dicunt."

name Thybris (never Tiber) was, as we are informed by Varro, in ancient times, written Thebris or Tebris; but the same learned author tells us in another place, that the Sabines called mountains Tebæ, or (with the hard breathing) Thebæ. This, with the Greek *ρην*, to flow, will again give us a literal translation of the indigenous appellation.

THE MOUNTAINS.—Should a list of Italian mountains be placed before a classical scholar, he will find no difficulty in recognising many as referable to the Greek, and many more to the Latin language. To the Greek he would instantly refer

Epopeus, ¹	Prospect-hill	ἐπι-ωψ.
Gaurus, ²	lofty,	Γαυρος, elatus.
Pausilypus, ³	sorrow-ceasing,	παυσι-λυπη.
Physcus, &c. ⁴	swelling bladder-like,	φυσκη.

To the Latin he would with no less confidence refer

Algidus, ⁵	Cold Hill.
Argentarius, ⁶	Silver do.
Carbonarius, ⁷	Charcoal do.
Gravis, ⁸	Heavy do.
Suisмонтium, ⁹	Boar do.
Tetricus, ¹⁰	Craggy do.
Severus, ¹⁰ &c.	Hard do.

and innumerable others.

¹ A high hill in Ischia so called, for the same reason as the Acro-Corinthus was called *ακρωτη*.—See Stephan. *De Urbibus*, under the word.

² The height above the Arvernian lake.

³ "It seems allowed that the Greek term Pausilypus was applied to the ridge of hills which separates the Bay of Naples from that of Pozzuoli, probably on account of its delightful situation and aspect."—Cramer's *Italy*, p. 173.

⁴ A hill near the Neæthus.

⁵ In Latium.

⁶ In Etruria.

⁷ Near Marrubium.

⁸ On the Via Sublacensis.

⁹ In Liguria.

¹⁰ Among the Sabini, not far from the source of the Nar, Tetricus and Severus are supposed at present to be represented by the high peaks of the Sibilla, among the loftiest in the Apennine ridge. The poets are very fond of alluding to the meaning of the name when they knew it. Hence

"Nam quæ nivali pascitur algido."—Hor. *Od.* lib. i. 21. And

"Qui Tetrici horrentes rupes montemque Severum."—Virg. *Æn.* vii. b. 714.

But many names still remain, to the meaning of which the mere classical scholar possesses no key. We, like the learned Varro, must say, "of such words the etymology is most difficult, for, in general, they have nothing in common with the Greek, and are vernacular terms, to the origin of which our records do not reach." Had he always remembered this truth, he would not have been guilty of such absurd mistakes as too often are visible in his great work. In explaining the meaning of some of the names of mountains in ancient Italy, it is not my intention to meddle with Alb. Tor, or any other such well-known roots. The names selected are the following:—

- ¹ { Peninus.
 Ap-Peninus.
 Le-Pinus.
 Canterius.²

¹ "Et locus difficillimus est *ερυμα*, quod neque his fere societas cum Græca lingua, neque vernacula ea, quorum in partum memoria adfuerit nostra."—Lib. vi. *de Lin. Sat.* cap. 5.

The name Apenninus may safely be merged in the Cumrian form Penninus, an appellation by which both the god who was worshipped at the pass of the Great Saint Bernard (Alpes Penninae), and the god whom the Umbrian shepherds adored in the vicinity of Iguvium, were called. The spot is marked in the Peutingerian Tables as the temple of Jupiter Penninus. The Cumrian Pen is the English head chief summit, and is still used as a common word. "Penin" is the capital of a pillar, and was doubtless applied to designate the highest peaks among the hills. I am inclined to reckon Le-Pinus as another form, especially as the town Pinna, in the high Apennines, is now called Penne.

Varro, in talking of *Pecudes*, writes (*De Re Rust.* lib. ii. cap. 1), "Annon in mari terraque ab his regionum notæ? in mari, quod nominarunt a capris Ægeum γ-λαγος, ad Syriam montem Taurum, in Sabinis Canterium montem." "Have not the characteristics of regions, both by sea and land, been derived from them? Was not the Ægean Sea derived from *Αγρις*? the mountain near Syria from *Ταυρος*? and that in the Sabini, from Cantherium, 'a beast of burden?'" Now, if it can be shown that the learned antiquary is wrong in the first, it may be inferred that he may be also mistaken with respect to the last. Now, from *Αἰσσω*, "I rush violently, I spring," came *Αἰξ*, "a goat, a springing animal," and *αἰξ*, "impetuosity." From this second *Αἰξ* came *Αγρις*, "an impetuous squall of wind," as may be seen in the compound *Κεραγρις*, thus defined by Aristotle, "*τὸν γρηγρὸν βλαπτικὸν πνεύματων καταγρις μὲν*

Ciminus.¹

Si-Cimina.

Cumerium Promontorium.²Cunarus.³

In entering upon the question of the names of places, it

ἔστι πνεῦμα ἀνωθεν ῥυπτον ἐξαιφνης." Of the violent winds, the καταιγὶς is "a blast that suddenly strikes from above." The Ægean is therefore not the Goat Sea, but the Squally Sea, a name which, all who know it say, it well deserves. Hence also in Homer, Ἀγχιόχης, the epithet of Homer's Jupiter, the "Storm-restrainer," not the "Goat-skin-holder," as later commentators interpreted the word. Mount Taurus was not named after "the Bull," but from *Tor*, one of the most universally diffused names for a bold and aspiring peak. Canterius Mons, also, has nothing to do with a "gelding," but was named, on the same principle as many other hills, from "Can," or Canus, white, and Terra (originally Tera), land; or, in the Cumrian form, from the same words, "Cantir," from "Can," white, and Tir, land.

¹ Mons Ciminus was a long and lofty ridge in Etruria, the passage of which (at least if we credit the annals of the Fabian family) formed an era in the history of early Rome. I have already observed that the M of the Romans was more of a vocal than consonantal letter. Hence this same name of a hill, when applied to the range of hills in the south-east of France, and written *Κεμνος* by the Greeks, and Cebenna by the Latins, still keeps its original sound in the French *Cevennes*. But in the language of the modern Cumri (see Owen's *Dict.*), Cevyn (pronounced Ceven, pl. Cevenau), is "a ridge, as Cevyn o dîr, a ridge of land, a long-extended mountain." From the same root comes Ceba, now Ceva, a town and district of Piedmont; the Cevin or Chevin Hills, in Yorkshire; and the Cheviot Hills, called formerly Chevy, the well-known ridge between Scotland and England. To these may be added the ancient Si-Cimino, a mountain of Liguria.

² Cumerium Promontorium, now Monte Comero, a bold headland in Pice-num, still commemorating the possession of that district by the Cumri, under their true name, and a record as lasting as the Mont-Gomeri in France, and the Comri Isles in the Frith of Clyde, probably in all cases the last retreat of the bravest spirits of a vanquished district.

³ Cunarus. This name is supposed to have been attached to the highest peak of the Apennines, the modern Monte Corno, or il Gran Sasso d'Italia. And the etymology strongly confirms the conclusions of comparative geographers, for Cun-Ar means the chief hill. (See Owen's *Dictionary*, under the words.) Cûn, "a leader or chief." Ar-an, "a high place," alp. It is the name of several of the highest mountains in Britain." *Ar* itself is not used as a noun, but as the preposition "above, upon," is in constant use.

should be remembered that many of the ancient names of towns, cities, and fortresses, are merely the names of the people or tribes who originally possessed them ; and that, first, the district, secondly, the city, is nothing more than the appellation of the nation. In the following remarks I shall, however, as much as possible, avoid words of this class, and confine the examination to such as seem to have a local meaning, borrowed from some accident, whether the work of man or of nature. Again, I have to request a fair hearing, and to beseech the classical scholar especially, for a short time to commit himself on subjects unknown to him to my guidance, and to assure him, that I will not knowingly abuse his confidence in the slightest degree. But as he, in reading a list of the names of Italian cities, would, without scruple, infer, without historical evidence, that by the Greeks were given the following names—

Neapolis,	Heraclea,
Dicaeopolis,	Poseidonium,
Metapontum,	Rhegium, &c. &c.;

and by the Latins, after the formation of their language, the following—

Concordia,	Vicentia,
Consentia,	Foro-Julienis,
Valentia,	Faventia, &c. &c.:

so ought he to allow me to select those names which are as plain to me as the Latin and Greek are to him, and refer them to the people by whom they were originally given. But it will be better, in the first place, to give a list of those accidents, the work either of man or of nature, from which the Cumrian local names are more commonly borrowed. These I copy alphabetically, and attach to each word the corresponding definition from Owen's *Dictionary*.

Bala, "an eruption, a discharge of a lake. Bala Lin, the outlet of a lake. Hence it is the name of many places in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland."

Ban, "prominence. It is the appellative of several mountains, as Banuçdeni, and Bannau (pronounced Bannae), the beacons of Breconshire, and the highlands of Tal-y-van in Glamorganshire."

Ca, "a keep, a hold."

Cae, "an enclosure, a hedge, and metaphorically, a field."

Caer, "a wall or mound of defence; the walls of a city, a castle or fortress. Caer-y-Vunwent, the churchyard wall."

Cor, "a round or circle, a close." Bangor, "the principal round or circle." It was a name given to some of our most noted monasteries, one in Flintshire, one in Carnarvonshire, one in Ireland, and another in Belleisle, off the coast of Brittany.

Clâs, "a space of ground enclosed, a region, a country, an island, old name of Britain, Clas Merdin."

"Bü Cuvranc gliw Powis, a clâs Gwined."

"There was contention between the chief of Powys and the region of Gwined."

Din, "a fortified hill or mount, a camp or fort. It forms the names of a great number of places in those countries which were inhabited by the Cumri. Hence the *Dunum*, *Dinum*, *Dinium*, of the Romans."

Din-as, "a fortress or fortified town, a city." It forms the names of several places in Wales, as Pen-dinas, &c.

Gwâl, "a cultivated country. The Cymry appropriated this name to the regions that were cultivated, and had a fixed residency, opposed to the wilds, or unsettled residences."

Gwely, "a bed or couch, also a family or tribe, a *family district* belonging to a chief and his clan."

Gwent, "a fair or open region, a champaign. It is a name now confined to nearly all Monmouthshire, but which anciently comprehended parts of the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, being the district of which Caer-went, or the 'Venta Silurum,' was the capital."

Gwern, "a swamp, a bog, a meadow, also alder-trees." He might have added that it was a generic name for trees, e.g. Gwernen, a mast of a tree.

Gweridre, "cultivated land, an inhabited region, a country;" apparently from Gwerin, "people," tre, "habitation."

Gwys, Gwêa, "a people, a peopled region, a country."

Ty, "a house."

Trev, "a dwelling-place, a hamlet, a township, a town. It forms the names of many places, as Trev-Ithel, "Ithelham," Treva, "Hamburg." Treva y tulwith Têg, a fairy circle; Treva o id, a thrave of corn."

First, Under Ca or Cae, we find, among others, the following:

Ca-latia campana.¹

Ca-latia samnis.¹

Ca-letra, in Etruria.

Ca-Mars² or Clusium, in Etruria.

Ca-Mere,³ near the Crathis, a field.

Ca-Meria,⁴ in Latium.

Ca-Merinum,⁵ in Umbria.

Ca-merte, in Umbria.

Ca-Silum.⁶

Ca-Silinum.⁶

Under Caer, or Car, pl. Ceiræ, written Cacerau, we find—

Cære.⁷

Car-eia, on the Via Clodia, in Etruria.

Car-rea, near Turin, on the Po; still called Chieri.

¹ A comparison of these two names with Col-Latium, Pa-Latium, &c. will show that *Ca* is a separable prefix. Compare also the rare coin, published by Sestini, and bearing the inscription *PALACIVM*, ascribed to the Sabine Palantium, from which, according to Varro (*Ling. Lat.* iv.) the Palatine Hill derived its name.

² For the same reason compare Mars Martis, the God, and the river Marta in Etruria; also Ma-mertium.

³ *Purus ager*, Ca-meren incola tuba vocat.—*Ov. Fast.* 581.

⁴ Compare A-meria, in Umbria.

⁵ Compare Merinum, near Mons Garganus, in Apulia.

⁶ Compare with the English Sil-Chester, Caer-silin, Sil-innæ Isles; Carsula, an island of the western coast of Britain, mentioned by the geographer of Ravenna.

⁷ Called by the Greeks Agylla. Cærø is to this day a common name in Wales.

Ca-sula, in Umbria, } Both towns are now called
 Car-scoli, in the Sabini, } Carsoli.

Car-istum, in Liguria; now Carosio.

Car-meianus Ager, in Apulia; naturally supposed to
 imply a *Carmecia*.

Car-Minianum, in Apulia; still called Car-miano.

Car-bina, in Apulia; now Carovigno.

Car-aceni, a division of the Samnites.

Cere-atae, in Latium.

Cer-fennia, in the Sabini.

A-cerræ,¹ in Campania; still so called.

Lu-ceria, in Apulia; still called Lucera.

Nu-ceria² Alfaterna, in Campania; still Nocera.

Nu-ceria Camellana, also Nocera, in Umbria.

Nu-ceria Cisalpina, on the right bank of the lower Po.

Nu-Cria, also Nocera, a supposed town of the Brutii.

Many more might be added, without adding, however, to the strength of the induction, although I may have to add others under some other heading. It is to be remarked that the Greek legends on certain coins give us *Νευκρινῶν*; and an Oscan inscription, quoted by Lanzi,³ has the word Nuc-krinûm. Apparently Nu is the same word as the Latin Nov-us, Cumrian New-îd, or English *new*.

Under Cor we have the following names:—

Cora, in Latium, still Cora.

Corbio, also in Latium.

Corfinium, capital of the Peligni.

Cor-ioli, in Latium.

Cormones,⁴ still Cormons, in Venetia.

¹ Another Acerræ, in Cisalpine Gaul, is now called Ghera.

² Nu-ceria means New-town; an old town in Welsh would be Hengaer, from hên, sen-ex. Nola, in an inscription given by Lanzi, was Nu-flan, where the *f* supplies the place of the aspirated *l*, New-Lan, or in modern Welsh, Llan-Newyd. Thus, also, "Latius ager" is in an inscription, "ager Tlatie," on the same principle.

³ Vol. i. p. 209.

⁴ Gle-Mona, in the same vicinity, proves that Cor-Mones is made up of Cor. and Mona.

Cor-sula,¹ in the Sabini.

Cures, now Correse, also in the Sabini.

Curia, in Cisalpine Gaul, now Coire.

If we compare these with the Coria Ottadinorum in North Britain, with Corinium in South Britain, with the Bangor of the Cumri, it will be difficult to escape the conviction that they all represent the same original word.

Under Clas we have one:—

Clas-tidium, on the Po,

which, compared with At-tidium, proves that both Clas and At were separable prefixes.

Under Din we have—

Vin Dinum, in Umbria

Ve-Dinum, in Venetia; now Udine.

And with the D hardened, as in the British Tin-tagel—

An-tinum, among the Marsi.

A-tina of the Lucanians; now Atena.

A-tina of the Volscians; now Atino.

Al-tinum, in Venetia; still Altino.

Re-tina in Campania.

Ma-tinum, which gave its name to the mountain.

Ses-tinum, in Umbria; now Ses-tino.

Gwâl and Gwely.

But here I must remark, that the Cumri prefix the letter G to all the radical words which in Latin commence with V, on the same principle which induces the French to write Walter, Gualtier. That this was the original pronunciation in Italy also, of Latin words commencing with V, is clear from the resuscitation of the pronunciation in such words as the following:—

Guado, A ford, Vadum.

Guagina, or } A sheath, Vagina, Cum. Gwain.
Guaina, }

Guastare, To waste, Vastare.

¹ Compare this word with Car-sula, and Carseoli, and Ca-silum, and with Sal-Môn-e.

This was the true digamma, which has so much puzzled scholars, merely classical. The more refined age of Greece abolished almost all the hard guttural and labial breathings, and wrote :—

<i>οἶνος</i> ,	Vinum,	Gwin,	Wine.
<i>σοκρος</i> ,	Socer,	Chwegir.	

In the simple expression, "Woo's me," we have in the different languages a complete scale of the original form and subsequent disappearance of this digamma.

Cumrian,	Gwai vi.
Latin,	Vae-mihi.
Greek,	<i>οἱ-μοι</i> .
Hellenistic form,	<i>ουαι-μοι</i> .

Nor is it less instructive to see it reappear in its original shape in the modern Italian, the language of the common people :—

Italian, Guai a me.

With this observation, and the remark that gwâl means *low* also, I refer to it and gwely the following words :—

- Val-lia, in Etruria, a river.
- Vel-eia, near Placentia.
- Vel-itæ, in Latium ; now Velletri.
- Fel-sina, afterwards Bononia ; now Bologna.
- Vola-Terra, now Volterra, in Etruria.
- Vul-sinii, or Volsinii, in Etruria ; now Bolsena.
- Fala-crinæ, in the Sabini.
- Fal-erii, in Picenum ; now Faleroni.
- Fal-isci, the people of Falerii.
- Fal-ernus ager, in Campania.
- Fel-tria, in Venetia ; now Faltri.
- Fal-erii, in Etruria ; now Felari.

It may excite some surprise to see Vola-terra and Volsinii in this list ; but, on comparing Vol-sinii and Fel-sina with Vel-athri, the coin-name of Vola-terra, it will be immediately seen that Vel, or, in a harsher form, Fel, is the root of all the prefixes. Should it be asked what sina is, it may be suggested

that it is probably a portion of Ra-sena, the name of the Tuscan¹ retained pure in Sena in Etruria, and in Sena on the Adriatic; not called after the Senones. The same word is visible in Por-sena, which, in the Cumrian language, means, Por, the Lord, of Sena or *the* Sena.

"Gwent" appears to be a favourite name among the Cumrian tribes, and its appearance either in its simple or compound form, may be regarded as a certain proof of the presence of the race. In ancient Britain, we had Venta Belgarum, Winchester, Venta Silurum, Caerwent, Venta Icenorum, Caister, near Norwich. In Italy we have—

Arx Car-ventana,² in Latium;

Tre-vent-um,³ now Trivento, in Samnium;

Bene-vent-um;⁴

Cas-ventum, in Umbria;⁵

Vi-ventum, in Umbria;

¹ One paper has been already read by me on the Tuscan language, but will not be published till the second is finished. It certainly is not Greek, and the Cumrian words in it are not numerous, not more, indeed, than a dominant tribe might be supposed to have borrowed from their vanquished subjects.

² Supposed to have been situated on one of the summits of Algidus. The adjective Carventana, necessarily implies the existence, at some period, of a Caer-went, or Car-venta, in the vicinity.

³ On coins, this name, in Oscan characters, is Trebint-im; similar names, both in Wales and Cornwall, will occur to persons acquainted with the locality.

⁴ I place Bene-vent-um under this head without scruple, without paying deference to the story mentioned by Livy, Pliny, and Festus, that before it became a Roman colony it was called Male-vent-um; because we have coins of this city bearing the Oscan inscription "BENEVENTOD," a proof that such was its name before it received a colony from Rome, and because there was another Bene-ventum between Brixia and Verona, in Cisalpine Gaul, and a Ben-naventa* in Britain. I may also add, that I look upon such words as Tarentum, &c. as pure Italian, and that it was the Greeks who formed imaginary nominatives, like Taras, &c. to suit their own fables. Pausanias informs us that Tarentum was "a very considerable and opulent town before the arrival of Phalanthus and his Spartans."

⁵ Cas-gwent was the ancient name of Chepstow Castle, as Cas-Nedd was that of Neath.

* Now Daventry.

Ver-entum, in Etruria, now Varentano;

Vis-entium. do. do. Bisentino.

This list might be increased indefinitely, but it will not be amiss to add—

No-mentum, an ancient city of Latium, and to compare it with Nu-mantia,¹ the Novantæ, and Trinobantes, of Britain. As a prefix, it appears without the T in the names of places commencing with the separable word Ven—Venusia and Venusini, for example. It is to be observed, that the men of Gwent are called Cumraicè Gwenhwyson, which a Roman would write Venusones, or perhaps Venusini.

Caradawg o Went ai Wenhwyson; ²

“Caradog of Gwent and his Venusini.”

Gwern, a swamp or wood, is one of the commonest sources of Cumrian names—Penwern, Tynwern, Werndü, &c. It seems to have been no less in use in ancient Italy; witness

Amit-ern-um, an ancient Sabine town;

At-ern-um, in Picenum, on the Aternus;

Av-ern-us, the lake. Aw, water; Gwern, wood;

Clat-ern-a, near Bononia;

Clit-ernum,³ in the Sabine territory;

Clit-ernia, in Apulia;

Lit-ernum, in Campania;

Leut-erni, in Apulia;

and many others. To the same source should be referred

Pri-vernum,⁴ in Latium, now Piperno;

¹ The Celtiberi were undoubtedly Cumri; Diodorus Siculus even calls them by the name, *των δε κυβρων οι λευσιταροι*, &c.; but I have nothing to do with Spain at present.

² See Owen's *Dict.* under Gwenhwyson.

³ It is curious that the hundreds so well known under the name of Chiltern, were in the Saxon period written “Clitern.” The word is “Clúd-wern,” warm-wood.

⁴ From these examples we see that the Cumrian Gw, of the radical word Gwern, became V, as in Privernum, F, as in Priferum, or totally disappeared, as in Aternum. Priv-wern means primitive or chief wood, Tí-fernum Ty-wern, wood-house.

Cla-vernica, in Umbria, now Chiaserna ;
 Pri-fernum, in the Sabine territory ;
 Ti-fernum, in Umbria, on the Metaurus ;
 Ti-fernum, in Umbria, on the Tiber ;
 Ti-fernum, in Samnium ;
 Ti-fernus, the adjacent river, now Biferno ;
 Ti-fernus, the adjacent mountain.

Gwery-dre. The root appears to be Gwyr, Viri, warriors, written Gwer also, as in Gwersyll, a camp ; Gwer, warriors ; Syll, a seat or *sella*. Under this head we have the places often called after the people ; such are

Ver-ona,¹ on the Athesis ;
 Ver-entum,² before mentioned under Gwent ;
 Ver-cellæ,³ now Vercelli, in Gallia Transpadana ;
 Ver-tinæ,⁴ among the Brutii, now Verzine ;
 Ver-ulæ,⁵ in Latin, now Veroli.

And with F instead of V,—

Fer-entinum, in Etruria ;
 Fer-entinum, in Latium.

Gwys or Gwês. Apparently a fertile source of names, hence,

Ves-bula, in the Sabine country ;
 Ves-cia, in Latium ;
 Ves-cellium, in Samnium ;
 Ves-eris, in Campania, a town or river ;
 Ves-idia, a small river in Etruria ;
 Ves-ionica, in Umbria ;
 Ves-tini,⁶ the well-known people ;
 Ves-ul-us,⁷ the Alpine hill Monte Viso.

And with F instead of V,—

¹ Avon or Awn, a river.

² Gwent, Gwyr Gwent.

³ Gelli, groves, Welsh name of the " Hay," the town.

⁴ Ul, water. Compare this Ver with Vero-lamium, Vero-metæ, &c. in Britain.

⁵ Din, the town.

⁶ Compare the Welsh vale, Festini-og, in north Wales.

⁷ The district of water.

Fcs-cennium ;¹

Fæs-ulæ, in Etruria.

Ty, or Tî, or Te. Under this head we find,—

Te-anum, in Apulia ;

Te-anum,² in Campania, now Teano ;

Te-ate,³ in the Sabine district, now Chieti ;

Ti-cinum ;⁴

Ti-fernum, three as before described ;

Ti-ora⁵ Matiena, in the Sabine Hills, near the source of the Velinus.

It would appear that this prefix was once Tegi or Tig (cognate with Τηγος and Tectum) from combining the following with the above :—

Tegi-anum, in Lucania, on the Tanager, which now, along with its valley, is called Diano, an evident corruption of Tegianum, and closely allied to the Tiano of the coins.

Tig-ulia, in Liguria, now Tre-gosa, a word in which Tre- has usurped the place of its synonym Tig or Ty, and gwys that of ul.

Trev and Treva, pronounced Tre, plur. Trevi. Under this common prefix of the Cumri, we have—

Treva, in the Sabini, now Trevi ;

Trevia, in Umbria, now Trevi ;

Treia, in Picenum ;

Tre-bula,⁶ Balinea, in Campania ;

¹ Cennium, Cevenæ, ridges, range of hills.

² There still remain many coins of this town bearing the epigraph TIANO.

³ This word, compared with Re-ate, shows that the To was a separable prefix ; and the several coins bearing the inscription TIATI, prove that its primitive form was Ti.

⁴ Now Pavia, probably gave its name to the Ticinus river, the Tessino.

⁵ The meaning of Ti-ora "Ty-ocra," is "coldest house," a fit name for its situation.

⁶ These names compared with Ves-bula, will show that Tre is a separable prefix, and if Lauzi (page 508, vol.ii.) is right in affirming, on the faith of inscriptions, that the citizens of this town were called TREBALACES, as the

Tre-bula, Mutusca, in the Sabini ;

Tre-bula, Suffenas, in the Sabini ;

Tre-ventum, before mentioned.

To these may be added,

Tar-visum, in Venetia, now Treviso ;

Ter-geste,¹ in Venetia, now Trieste ;

Ter-ioli, in Rhætia, now Tyrol.

This induction might have been increased, by examining the names in which the following words are component parts :—

Man, a place ;

Ban, a hill ;

Gwy, water ;

Glan, the brink, or side of a river, lake, &c. ;

Bre, or Bryn, or Bren, a bræ', or brow of a hill, and others.

But sufficient, I suppose, has been adduced to show that the Cumrian language is the only key to a right understanding of local names in Italy, and to induce the learned reader to allow, that the same tongue which entered so deeply into the composition of the names of places, rivers, and mountains, might also have left strong proofs of its existence in the more artificial language which sprang up when the civilization of Magna Græcia and Etruria sank before the energy and hardihood of the mountain tribes ; and the victors of Septimontium, as they advanced in power and a knowledge of the arts and sciences, had to extend their vernacular vocabulary.

But, before I enter upon an examination of this proof, it will be right to declare, that the Gael as well as the Cumro can claim in common some of the words which have been placed before the reader, and more to which his claim appears exclusive. But this, if granted, does not affect the value of the principle. Let the Gael and the Cumro decide on their

Brutii are called by Ennius, Brutaces, it will necessarily follow that the name of the city was originally Tre-bala (see Bala in the list of roots). The epithet Balinea, is confirmative of this explanation.

¹ Este is a common root in the names of places. See At-Este, Præn-Este, Greek *ærv*.

respective rights. It is something gained to have expelled the encroaching Teutons. The field of conflict is thus narrowed, and the dispute will be the sooner decided in proportion to the closeness of the lists. If there be any stout-hearted Teuton, who will persist in still claiming these nations as of his immediate race, let him go over the ground over which I have travelled, and select the Bergs, the Hams, the Forts, the Bachs, the Dens, which must be still found there, if those hills were peopled by his race. Tor, Wick, and even Briga, are common to both races, and would, if brought forward, prove nothing. One thing, also, he must not do: he must not bring names from Bohemia, nor from the right bank of the Danube, as far as Illyricum, nor from modern Hungary, nor from the vicinity of the Cimbric Chersonese, as all these countries were once held by people of the Cumrian race.

If, then, the Cumri and the Umbri were the same people, it may be asked, what became of the letter C in the name of the latter? I cannot tell; but I know that the initial κ or γ was very loose not only in the Greek, where we have $\Gamma α ι α$ and $κ ι α$ for the earth, $γ ι ω ν$ and $ι ω ν$ for going, $κ ι χ α ν ε$ and $ι κ α ν ε$ for venio and invenio, $ε λε υ θ ω$ and $κ ε λε υ θ ος$ for go and gait; but also among the Latins, where we have *cocles* and *ocles* (see Varo under the word) for a one-eyed man, and *caulon* and *aulon*, significant of the same thing in the Magna Græcia. Among the Cumri the guttural is still looser, as they drop it to express a difference even of gender, as *goleu*, light, *ei oleu*, his light. But the Latins probably dropped it, because the Greeks of the historical era wrote $ο μ β ρ ι κ ο ι$ and $ο μ β ρ ο ι$, whence the fashion prevailed, and the word became disguised. In older times, the Greeks themselves wrote it $κ ι μ μ ε ρ ι ο ι$, as we find in the *Odyssey*. The mythos, by which the author of that poem places them in utter darkness, only tells us that they were placed in what was to him the extreme west. For as the east, $ε υ ρ ος$, was the house of light, $ε ως$, so $Ζ ε φ υ ρ ος$, the west, was the house of misty darkness ($Ζ ο φ ος$ $η ε ρ ο ε ις$). Ephorus,¹ therefore, following the

¹ Quoted by Strabo, lib. v. p. 244.

older commentators, and the tradition of the inhabitants, places the Cimmerians near the Lake Avernus; others placed them a day's sail to the west of Circeii, in the very country which the Umbri of history are said to have occupied.

But in addition to the retention of the C in the ancient Cumerium promontorium, the modern Monte Comaro, there still remains a convincing proof that the C was attached to the name even within the year 585 A.C. There is in the Capitoline marbles the following notice:¹ "Quintus Aufidius, Banker, at the sign of the Cimbric Shield, absconded as he was deep in debt." Now, as this authentic record, more authentic, as many believe, than manuscripts, mentions a Cimbric shield sixty-seven years before the well-known invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, the shield must have been named after some Cimbri other than those of Jutland, whose name the Romans never heard before their passage of the Rhine, and their devastations in Gaul and Spain. "The arms of the Cimbri were first heard of in the 640th year of our city," writes Tacitus.² This *Cimbricum scutum* could not therefore have derived its name from them. Probably it drew its origin from some Cumrian tribe, among the Gallic invaders of Italy, if not from the Umbrians themselves. I have omitted many coincidences of note between the ancient names of places in Italy and in Britain, but I find it impossible to omit the following—

Mevania,³ in Umbria, Mevania, Anglessea.

¹ The whole of the inscription applicable to the case is the following:—

"Quintus. Aufidius. Mensarius. Tabernæ. Argentariæ. Ad. scutum. Cimbri-
cam. Cum. Magna. Vi. Æris. Cessit. Foro. retractus. ex. itinere. causam.
dixit." I owe this quotation to Thicrry's *History of the Gauls*, vol. i.
page 46.

² Taciti *Germ.*

"Sexcentessimum et quadragessimum annum urbe nostra agebat, quum
primum Cimbrorum arma audita sunt."

³ Mevania, a city in a plain ("Projecta in campis," or, as Lucan describes it, "ubi se Mevania campis explicat"), watered by the sacred river Clitumnus. Now, Mai, Cumricò, is a plain, and Man (in composition Van), a place, hence Meivan or Maivan, means "a city of the plain."

Spina,¹ on the Adriatic, Spinæ, in Berkshire.
 Ceneta,² in Venetia. Cunetio, in Wiltshire.
 The Morgetes,³ Morgant, Morgan-wg Gla-Morgan.

Having thus, as I hope, proved the close connection between the Italian tribes of Umbrian race and origin with our own Cumri, it remains that I should conclude with showing from the still existing language of the latter, that the Umbrian entered into the composition of the former.

And, first, let me premise that (as it has been lately shown, and is now acknowledged by all linguists) two languages may have a common vocabulary but different grammars. The Latin language, whether from Pelasgic or Achæan influence, adopted at an early period the Hellenic grammar, and under the skilful hands of the bilingual Ennius, became the polished interpreter of thoughts, which yields in regularity and majesty to the Greek alone. The Cumri either retained, which is more probable, a still more ancient, or invented a grammar, now peculiar to themselves. This, although it be simple and scientific in the highest degree, is so completely at variance with all the other grammars of the civilized world, that scholars who have to acquire it late in life feel the strongest repugnance to its forms and principles, and are tempted to regard a language more fixed

¹ Spina, supposed to have been a Pelasgic city, was placed at the south-eastern mouth of the Po. Spina, on the river Kennett, is still called Speen. As the Pelasgi gave the name to the one city, it might be inferred that they gave it also to the other; but it is far more probable that the same primitive race which named Spina before the visit of the Pelasgi, gave the same name to the British city.

² These two words, together with the name of the river Cunetio, may serve to fix the original position of the Cuneles of Herodotus (iv. cap. 49), "the Danube flows through all Europe, beginning from the Celtæ, who, after the Cuneles, are the most western inhabitants of Europe."

³ These Morgetes, called also Morgentes, as may be inferred from their city, *Μοργεντιον*, at the mouth of the Symæthus, in Sicily, were one of the earliest Italian tribes, so denominated apparently from their position on the seacoast. *Môr*, sea; *Gant*, brink or side; compare *Morgan-wg*, in South Wales; *Vorganium*, or *Morganium*, in Armorica. The Samnite *Murgantia* was, according to the coins, *Murtantia*.

and unchangeable in its principles than any other existing, as more slippery and grasp-escaping than the Proteus of the Grecian mythologists.

To persons who have formed their conception of verbal roots from the unvarying character of those important elements in the Greek, Latin, and modern languages, it appears strange that these radicals themselves should be continually shifting in form.¹ Let such, however, be assured that the system is as fixed and regular as that which from

τυττω derives *τυψω* *τετυμμαι*, *ετυφθην* *τυφθισομαι*.

Now, although the grammars of the Latin and Cumrian languages thus entirely disagree, there is a wonderful similarity in their vocabulary, a similarity by no means to be accounted for by a supposed common descent from a Caucasian race, but approaching far nearer than the old Teutonic, or, as it is called, Moeso-Gothic tongue, does to the Homeric language.

¹ Take, for example, the following examples :—

Pen, a head.—Plur. Pennae.	Trôd, a foot.—Plur. Traed.
Ei-Ben, his head.	Ei-Drôd, his foot.
Ei-Phen, her head.	Ei-Thrôd, her foot.
Fy-Mhen, my head.	Fy-Nhrod, my foot.
Gavel, a hold.—Plur. Gaveilae.	Cam, a step.—Cammae, steps.
Ei-Avel, his hold.	Ei-Gam, his step.
Ei-Gavel, her hold.	Ei-Cham, her step.
Fg-Nghavel, my hold.	Fy-Nghan, my step.
Bwyd, food.	Carû, to love.
Ei-Fwyd, his food.	Ei-Garû, to love him.
Ei-Bwyd, her food.	Ei-Charû, to love her.
Fy-Mwyd, my food.	Im-Carû, to love me.

These and such changes never for a moment cause a scholar to confound two radicals, which change only on certain conditions and fixed principles. But when a language formed on such a principle breaks up, and a new one is re-constructed from its fragments, and perhaps those of others, we may expect to see such grammatical forms figuring in the new language as independent radicals; thus, under one of the above-described forms, we have three English words :—

Bwyd, bait, either for a fish or horse.
 Ei-Fwyd, his food.
 Fy-Mwyd, my meat.

Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ both a Cumrian and classical scholar, remarked this similarity nearly 600 years ago. "It is to be remarked that almost *all the words* of the British tongue agree either with the Greek or Latin." It is this strong similarity of features between their own language and those of Greece and Italy that has induced so many of my countrymen to claim for it the honour of being the mother-tongue of all, and to scorn all examination which did not commence with this confession. Even the late learned Dr. Owen Pugh has, in his *Dictionary*, by arbitrarily selecting certain syllables as the roots of all Cumrian words, done much to foster this overweening conceit. The system was carried to its extreme point of absurdity by the Rev. Edward Davies, who, by the help of such syllables, expected to unravel the mysteries of all languages. This failure has, I hope, paved the way for the more sober consideration of the question, which if worked out fairly will, in my opinion, establish the claim of the Cumrian tongue, if not to be the mother of all tongues, at least to be a valuable branch of the Caucasian tree of languages. Now, had the two races, the Roman and Cumrian, remained always separate, a comparative etymology would have been an easy task; for no more would be necessary than to put the similar roots, having the same meaning, side by side. But, unfortunately for the scholar who undertakes to prove the question, the Romans were in this island nearly 400 years, colonized it partly, and partly gave it their own form of civilization. As before mentioned, the inhabitants adopted with avidity the Roman dress, language, and literature. That language must, therefore, be supposed to have entered deeply into the composition of the present Cumrian tongue. The sceptical examiner may, therefore, reasonably object that any similarity between the two languages might have originated in the adoption of that of Rome by the British provincials.² In answer to this I refer, in the first place,

¹ "Notandum etiam, quod verba linguæ Britannicæ omnia fere vel Græco conveniunt vel Latino."—*Cambria Descriptio*.

² Edward Lhwyl, to whom the original inhabitants of Great Britain, Ireland,

to Lloyd's reasoning, quoted in the note. In the second place, to the fact, that Wales and Cornwall do not appear to have been occupied like the rest of England by the Romans.¹ The main roads of the Antonine Itinerary do not pass to the westward of a line drawn from Eggerton (Muridunum)—Egger, in modern Cumracg, "y Gaer"—to Abergavenny (Gobannium), thence from a spot near Draiton to Chester (Deva). The main road connecting Isca Silurum (Caerleon on Usk), the station of the legion 2nda Augusta, with Deva (Chester), the station of the twentieth legion, would to this day almost serve as a boundary between the English and Welsh counties. Add to this, that the inscriptions of Roman workmanship to the west of this line are too trifling to allow us to suppose that any long occupation of the country could have taken place. Were it otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the stationary position of two out of the three legions by which Britain was garrisoned,

and France, owe so much, states the question as plainly as the prejudices of the day would allow him :—Additions to Merionethshire in Camden.—"It seems to me the word Torques was Celtic before it was Roman. For, although I acknowledge it to be derived from Torqueo, yet *we* also have the verb Torchii in the same sense ; and seeing that both the British words Torch and Torchii are in all appearance derived from the common word Troi, *i. e.* to turn ; and also that grammarians know not well whence to derive Torqueo, I know not but we may find the origin of it in the British Torch. Nor ought any one to think it absurd that I thus endeavour to derive Latin words from the Welsh, for there are hundreds of words in that language that agree in sound and signification with the Latin, and which yet could not be borrowed from the Romans, because the Irish retain the same, who must have been a colony of the Britons long before the Roman conquest ; and also that the Welsh or British is one dialect of the old Celtic, whence, as the best critics allow, the Roman tongue borrowed several words, and, I presume, by the help of the Irish, which was never altered by a Roman conquest, it might be traced much farther. For instance, we must acknowledge these British words, Tŷr, Awyr, Môr, Avon, &c. to have one common origin with those of the same signification in the Latin—Terra, Aer, Mare, Amnis ; but, seeing the Irish also have them, it is evident they were not left here by the Romans, and I think it no absurdity to suppose them used in these islands before Rome was built."

¹ With the exception of the road along the seashore from Chester to Carnarvon, which appears to have been merely the road to Ireland.

the one at Caerleon, the other at Chester. The Roman legions in the provinces, liable to hostile attacks, had their headquarters almost invariably on the frontiers. It is, therefore, almost impossible to account for the selection of two such points as these, without the supposition that the legions were placed there to guard against the attacks of a race which, if vanquished, was nevertheless unbroken in spirit. Even the very grammar of the language, and the traditions of better times long anterior to the Roman invasion, are proofs that, as far as the western portions of Great Britain are concerned, the amalgamation with Rome was never completed. Still, however, the long residence of the Romans in the island, with the known influence always produced by such a state of things, renders every statement grounded on the similarity alone of the languages of the two races, the conquered and the conquerors, liable to suspicion. I have, therefore, been compelled to enter upon an exceedingly difficult investigation, which, if successful, must prove the radical identity of the Latin and Cumrian tongues. The proof is this—

If there are derivative words in the Latin of which we must seek the primitives in the Cumrian, and if these primitives be shown to furnish an explanation of many words before inexplicable on etymological principles—for example, if the verb “to tread,” under various forms, be found with the meaning, “to trample with the feet,” in most of the western languages of Europe, and have no noun to base itself upon in these languages, and yet the noun *traed* “the feet” be found in one of them—the inference is irresistible that the verb in all its forms was derived from this root. To deny this would be equivalent to a denial that the Latin verb, *calcare*, came from *calx*, the heel. In the following List such words alone, with a few exceptions for the sake of etymological illustration, have been introduced. It might have been indefinitely extended, but the difficulty was to confine the examples within moderate limits.

AM, around; Am-Terminum,¹ quoted by Macrobius from Cato's *Origines*. It is needless to quote the various opinions of the learned upon the subject. In Owen's *Dictionary*, under the word, we find: "Am, prep. round, about. In composition it answers to circum, as "aingylchū," to circumscribe." "Am y tan, round the fire." Hence

AMO, I go round—I embrace—I love. Amplector, I clasp in my embrace, has the same meaning. Cicero. *Fam. Ep.* lib. vi. *Ep.* vi. "Me amicissimo quotidie magis Cæsar amplectitur;" i. e. adds Forcellini, Amat. So, Sall. *Bell. Jug.* cap. vii.: "Aliquem in amicis habere magis magisque indices amplecti." Thus, "Amplexor (Cicer. *ad Quint. Frat.* lib. ii. *Ep.* 12). Appius me totum amplexatur," & c. Valde Amat. The Greek Ἀγαγῶν has the same reading.

AM-TRUO,² to turn round; compounded of Am, and Troi, to turn. "Amdroi (*vide* Owen's *Dict.*), to revolve, to circulate."

AXILLA, contracted; Ala, a wing; ἄξρον, membrum illud quo aves volant; metaphorically, an armpit. Now, Asgel (by a common change, Ag-scl), plur. Esagyl, is a wing (*vide* Owen's *Dict.*), of which the Cornish form was Esel, plur. Esili. But Asg, the root, signifies separation, a splinter; the same idea which guided man in naming limbs, μῆρῃ, Brachia, &c.

ASTULA—As-del (vulgo Astel, plur. Estyl), a plank; compounded of As, a plain or flat, and Del, separation; verb *Delli*, to split. The English word Deal is cognate in origin and meaning. Without any collusion or suspicion of any such occurrence, Barker's *Forcellini* has, under Astula, "a board, a lath, shingle;" and Owen's *Dict.* under Asdel, "a board, plank, shingle."

AVIDUS and **AVEO**, root Aw. Thus described in Owen's *Dict.*: "Aw, a fluid, also a flowing. From this expressive root are derived all words that imply fluidity, or the motion or action of fluids, and also immaterial

¹ "Quidam putant, antiquitus fuisse separabilem afferuntque illud fragmentum."—Caton. in originibus apud Macrobius, lib. i. satur. cap. 14. Am-Terminum, Circa-Terminum, super quo tamen miras eruditi lites excitarunt.—Forcel. in loco. Hence we have a preposition in common use among the Cumri, which nevertheless had ceased to be so used in Rome long before the Romans invaded Britain.

² An ancient word, which, like most other expressions which they did not understand, has been especially maltreated by commentators. I add Forcellini's account of it: "Am truo vel Amptuuo, to turn round in the dance. Antiquum verbum ab Am, circum, et trua, quæ est instrumentum ad movendum vel agendum. Significat motus et saltus quos edebant Salii sacerdotes in suis sacris. Horum enim qui primus, erat, amtruare dicebatur, et qui post eum movebantur et saltabant, invicem motus reddentes, redamtruare." Cels. apud Festum, Redamptuare. Something analogical to the Strophe and Antistrophe of the Greek Chorus.

qualities, as the impulse or emotion of the will, mind, or soul." Hence Avid, "an ardent desire, eagerness, greediness," the undoubted source of the Latin "avidus."

AURUM, Cum. AUR (also Air and Oir), root *Air*, brightness: which also produced the Latin *Aura*, a gleam, confounded with the Greek word *Αὔρα*, a breeze. Virgil, who undoubtedly was acquainted with one form of the language called Celtic, thus plays upon the source of the meaning of both words:—

"Discolor unde auri per Ramos aura refulsit."¹

Hence also—

AURORA, Cum. GWAWR, a compound of *Aura*, brightness, and *Hora*, the hour or time of splendour—"the golden dawn."

BARBA, a beard; Cum. Barv, Arm. Baro, the same. Root, "Bar" (see Owen's *Dict.*) "an excrescence, a bunch or tuft."

BENNA, a carriage, a *car*. Festus, under the word, writes: "Lingua Gallica, genus Vehiculi unde vocantur combennones in calem bennâ sedentes." Cum. Ben, "a wain or cart;" and Menwr, a carter." Hence the prolific term, *Menare* in Italian, and *Mener* in French, to lead or manage matters. From *Benna* came also the British or Belgic *Covinus* or *Covinnus*. "Genus Carri, quo in bello utebantur Britanni et Belgæ." Now, *Cym*, *Cyv*, or *Cy*, is the Cumrian form of the Latin *Cum*, and in composition *Com*. What would be written in Welsh *Cywain*, or

¹ Servius, on the words "Auri, Aura," has this observation: "Splendor auri," Horatius. "Tua ne retardet Aura maritos," i. e. Splendor. "Hinc et aurum dicitur a splendore qui est in eo metallo." Thus Varro also seems to have had access to some source of knowledge afterwards shut, when, under *Aurora* (lib. vi. *De Ling. Latina*, cap. v.) he writes: "Aurora dicitur ante solis ortum, ab eo, quod ab igne solis tum aureo, aurescit." *Aureus* is used to express brightness, without any reference to gold, as in "aurea Phœbe," "aurea Venus." And Manilius has even, "Aureus olor" (lib. v. v. 383), "i. e." adds Forcellini, "Nitidissimi et candentis coloris," brilliant white. Perhaps also in his famous passage (Hor. lib. i. od. v.):—

"Heu, quoties fidem,
Mutatosque Deos flebit; et aspera
Nigris æquora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus *aurea*;
Qui semper vacuum, semper amabilem,
Sperat; nescius *aureæ*
Fallacis,"

Aurea ought to be translated, "in all your brightness," the same as *Aurea Venus*, "all smiles;" and *Aura* "a gleam of light," the deceitful sunshine, ought to be contrasted with "*aspera nigris æquora ventis*."

Co-van, a *ἄσπος*, would in Cornish be Coven, and in Latin Covin-us. The English word Country would be written in Welsh, Cyv-dro, a *cyvroun*, from Cyv, and Tre, a residence; but in Cornish it is Contre. Hence Contrevak, Anglice, a countryman. It is to be remarked that the first meaning of Country is the Latin Patria, and that its use to represent Rus is secondary.

BESTIA, a wild beast. Ulpian (*Dig.* lib.iii. tit. 1, et lib. xi. tit. 1, leg. 1) tells us: "Bestia sunt omnia animalia quæ naturâ fera sunt et hominibus noxia, ut Ursi, Leones, Apri, Tigres, item canes feri, serpentes, venenati aranci, et hujusmodi alia quæ aliquo in modo in hominem sæviunt." The root is the Cum. *bwyst*—"wildness, ferocity" (see Owen's *Dict.*) as an adjective,¹ wild, ferocious, or savage. In common language, it is joined to Mil, an animal, as *Bwystvil*, a ferocious, noxious *beast*.

BRASSICA, a cabbage—Cum. *Bresych*; from Bar-aieg, "head-spreading." The adjective is *Braieg*, "gross, thick."

CERES, first, corn; secondly, the goddess—Cum. *Ceirch*. In Corn. *cerh* signifies oats. Among the Sabines, as we are told by Servius (1 *Georg.* v. 7), Ceres meant bread, as in Scotland to this day, meal means oatmeal. From Ceres comes

CERVISIA, "a drink (writes Forcellini) made from various kinds of corn macerated and bruised, but principally from barley. It was formerly much used by the Gauls, therefore its origin ought to be looked for in their language. For what some say is not probable, that it is formed by syncope from *Cereris vis*, because the strength of corn is concentrated in it." The roots are—*Cerh*, oats, and probably all other grain; and *Wys*, water. Those who claim distillation as a modern discovery, forbid us to consider this Celtic drink to be whisky, the strong water of the Celts of Scotland and Ireland. But in *Celia*, or *Ceria*, its Spanish name, we recognise *Cooroo*, the still-existing name of ale in Wales. I have written it as it is pronounced, as its true form, *Cwrw*, has often been quoted as an instance of the impossibility of pronouncing Welsh names. Such persons forget that the Greek *o* is a vowel, and that it was used long in England to do the same service which it still performs in Wales.

CATENA, chain. This the etymologers would fain extort from the Greek *καθ' ἑν*, one by one, linked together. But both the quantity and meaning reject this derivation, as *catena* signifies any² restrainer. Vitruvius³ says, "Hique asseres, catenis dispositis ad contiguationes crebriter clavis fer-

¹ Once again let the reader be told, that the favourite vocal sound of the Cumri is that represented by *wy*, or *oo-ee* pronounced as a diphthong. The word *Bwyst*, is in Corn. *Buest*, Ang. *Beast*.

² Forcellini, under the word, "Sumptum etiam pro quovis nexu, quo aliquid conjungitur aut ligatur."

³ Lib. vii. cap. 8.

reis fixis religentur." Here they must be translated, "bands, pins, wooden brackets, or cramps." Again, Palladius¹ has a passage of a similar kind, "Asseres, catenis ligneis ex junipero aut cupresso factis ad contignationes suspendemus." Here, also, catenæ ligneæ must be translated "wooden cramps or knees." But no abuse of metaphor could have induced plain writers like Vitruvius or Palladius to have called wooden cramps a chain of linked rings. Some other etymon is therefore required, and this we have in the Cumrian, *cadwyn* or *cadwen*, plur. *cadwynnæ*, "a chain or bond" (see Owen's *Dict.*), root, *Cadw*, "to keep, preserve, or save." This verb must, therefore, have formed a part of the Latin language, and perhaps of other languages also, as the Greek *καδερ*, the Latin *cadus*, and the English *caddie*, signify a vessel which will hold or keep things. From the same root came *catinum*, a deep dish or pot, and its diminutive *catellus*, our kettle. The change of the Cumrian *d* into the Latin *t*, is almost invariable, as Lloyd has remarked, who adds in another place, "The Spaniards, to mention once for all, agree with us in changing the Latin *t* into *d* and the *p* into *b*, especially in the middle syllables. In the termination their *d* often answers our *dd* (pronounced *th* soft as in *the*) which we also formerly writ with only one *d*."

CIPPUS, and diminutive, **cippulus**. "Valli genus ex trunco arboris, unde et Vet. Gloss. *κορμυρ*, truncum exponit."—Forcellini, under the word. It also signified a terminus, and sometimes stocks, of which meaning the Italian "*ceppo*" remains yet a living witness. Now, under the Cumrian "*cyf*," pronounced "*keef*," we have in Owen's *Dict.* the following explanation:—"A stock, a stem, trunk or body, a stump; *cyf pren*, a stump of a tree, plur. *cyfion* (pronounced *cuffion*) stocks (hence Anglice, hand-cuffs)." The diminutive "*cippil*," means also "a stump of a tree with the branches dried on," which suits the description given by Caesar² of his "*cippi*."

CRUMENA and **CRUMINA**, "a leathern bag or purse," from, *croen*, "an outside crust," whence *croen* and *croenen*, "a skin or hide;" on the same principle as *purse* comes from *supen*, "a hide." Compare French *Bourses*, Spanish *Bolsa*.

CICUTA, "hemlock, a pipe;" also, a "*fistula ad canendum apta*." In Humph. Lloyd's *British Etymologicon*, "*cecut*" is put down as an old Cum. form of this word. The common name is *cegid* or *coegydy*, "the hollow one," from *coeg*, "hollow."³ Servius observes, "*Cicuta autem est spatium quod est inter cannarum nodos*;" "the *cicuta* (or hollow) is that space which is between the knots of the reeds."

CUNEUS, "a wedge," from Cum. *cun* or *cyn*, "a head, first part or wedge, also a chisel." Quotation in Owen's *Dict.*, *gyrru r cun a gerdo*, "to drive the wedge that will go."

¹ Lib. i. tit. 13. ² *De Bello Gall.* lib. vii. cap. 73 ³ Virg. *Eclagues*, ii. b. 86.

- CARPENTUM**, "a carriage, a longer form of Cum. *car-ven* (see *Benna*), a cart." It might have been originally spelt *carmen*, and hence the "*porta Carmentalis*" of Rome, if this was not derived from leading to the *Arx Carventana* before mentioned. To trace its name to an imaginary mother of as imaginary an *Evander*, was only an old woman's tale.
- CODEX**, or **CAUDEX**, "the body, trunk, stump, or stock of a tree," from Cum. *Coed*, "trees;" *Coeden*, "a standing tree." In Latin it signifies secondarily "a book," but never bears that meaning in Welsh.
- COLLIS**, "a hill," from Cum. *Col* (*vide* *Owen's Dict.*), "any projecting body, a peak;" whence
- COLUMNA**, Cum. *Col-ov* and *Colov-yn* (*vide* *Owen's Dict.*) "a stem or stalk, a prop." These may not necessarily be Cumrian, as the Greek *κόλμνα* seems derivable from a common root. But assuredly the Cumrian is the only one which has kept the root to this day; *Colla* also is "the awns of barley." *Collum*, "a neck," should be referred to the same root.
- FROENUM**, "a bridle," Cum. *Frwyn*, from *Froen*; plur. *Froenæ*, "nostrils." The first bridle was a ring through the cartilage of the nostrils, to which the reins were attached.
- FRUSTRO** and **FRUSTROR**, "to disappoint, to baffle, to prevent;" from Cum. *Rhwystro* (*vide* *Owen's Dict.*) "to go before, to obstruct, to hinder;" root, *Rhwystyr*, "opposition, hindrance, impediment, an obstacle."
- MACERIA**, "any wall enclosing grounds." "*Paries sub dio positus ad sepelendos hortos, villas, vineta, et hujusmodi, sive ex calce fiat, sive sicco lapide construatur.*" The last would have been the mode of construction originally in use, whence the name. H. Lloyd, under *Maceria*, has "*Magwyr*, a dry wall of stones without mortar." But *Magwyr* is generally called "*Y. Vagwyr*," i. e. *gwag-vŵr* (*vacu-us mur-us*) "a wall not closely connected, having intervals." This is exemplified by the Latin cognate word, *Vacerræ*, "a paling of hurdle-work used as fences in fields," and by the Welsh, *Gwagar*, "a sieve formed by slips of wood, with intervals between, crossing each other at right angles."
- MIROR**, "to wonder at, to gaze on;" from Cum. *Miraz* "to see" (*vide* H. Lloyd's *British Etymologicon*). The Spanish language also keeps the primitive meaning, *Mirar*, "to see." Nay, even the modern Italian has, as in many other instances, retained the older meaning, *Mirare*, "to view or behold," while there are but faint traces of the secondary meaning, which alone is found in classical writers. The root is the Cum. *Mir*, "what is fair or bright." *Mirror* also comes from the primitive meaning.
- MOLA**, "a mill." For the origin of this word we are referred to the Greek *μᾶλ*, which gives us no new information. The Cum. "*Mâl*" means what is reduced into small particles, bruised or ground. Hence, *Malu*, "to reduce small, to grind." And a longer form, *Maluri*, "to bruise, break, or pound." Hence, both the stones and the teeth, *Molares*, or *grinders*.

Mox, "quickly, soon after." A word left in the Latin language without a single relation to express its source. The root is the Cum. *Môch*, "ready quick." (*Vide Owen's Dict.*) "*Moch dyag nawv Mab hwyad*;" in Latin, "*Cito*," or "*Mox discet nare filius anatis*."

Mactus, "honoured, increased;" said to be derived from "*magis augeo*," which assuredly would never give, especially in older times, the word *Mactus*. The Latin philologists seem, at an early period, to have confounded this old participle from an obsolete verb, with the frequentative *macto mactare*, "to slaughter." The cognates of this latter word are *μαχη μαχαρη*, and the Latin *Macellum*, "the shambles." The root of *Mactus* is the Cum. *Magü*, "to breed, to make great;" as *grow* is of *great*, *alo* of *altus*, and *in* and *gigno*, of *ingens*. From *Magü* came *Maethü*, "to educate, to nurse, to cause to increase." *Mactus* is the same word, although it requires some explanation before the truth appears to an English eye. Now, the *et* and *pt* at the end of Latin words is almost invariably represented in Welsh by *th*; e. g. *Vir doctus* becomes in Cumrian *Gwr-dôth*; *Aur-um coct-um*, *Aur côth*; *Mil-es capt-us*, *Mil-wr câth*. *Plenus fructus Llawn frwyth*, *Fluv-ius Lact-is Lliv o laeth*, &c. &c. On this principle *Mactus* would be *Maethüs*, "full of increase." *Sis macte*, "be full of increase," *grow*, tua virtute. To the same root should be assigned the Gallic word, *Ambacti*, mentioned by Caesar,¹ for as *Tâd-Maeth* is a foster-father, and *Mam-Vaeth* a foster-mother, so *Am-Vaethi* would be the circle of foster-brothers, which in Celtic countries formed the strength and pride of a chief.

Ocoo OCCARE, "to harrow;" from Cum. *Ogi*, "to use the harrow, to harrow" (see *Owen's Dict.*); root, *og* and *oged*, "the instrument." *Occa*, once admitted into Latin dictionaries, is now rejected. The derivatives of *oc* or *og* are so numerous in the Cumrian, with the meaning of quick motion and sharp points, as to make it clear that it is an original part of the language. Persons who wish to draw subtle inferences say, that all the terms of the Romans connected with agriculture may be referred to a Greek source, while the terms expressive of war or hunting are non-Hellenic. The induction fails completely in both parts, as might easily be shown. When *Cæsar* landed in Britain, the natives were agriculturists, densely planted, and Halley proved that the harvest which *Cæsar's* soldiers reaped, had ripened at the average period of a Kentish harvest in his days. Assuredly, then, the Britons had not the agricultural names to learn from the Romans of an afterage.

NAVO, "to perform vigorously, to work diligently." *Navare operam et opus*, "to perform a work;" root, *Nâv*, "a former, a creator;" *Nav-Neivion*, in the Cum. "*opifex opificum*," "God." Hence *Navawl*, "relating to formation," and *Naviad*, "an operation."

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. 14. Equitum ut genere opibusque amplissimus, ita plurimos circa se ambactos clientesque habet.

NATRIX,¹ Gael, Nathair; Cum., Neidür; Saxon, Nadder and Neddre. The English adder was formed by a mistake, an adder, instead of a *nadder*.

By an opposite one, an evet or eft became a newt.

NERVUS, "a muscle;" Nervosus, "strong." Undoubtedly the same as the Greek *νευρος*. The Cumrian root is Ner-th, "strength," and Nêr, "the powerful one, God." Now, according to Aulus Gellius, "Neris et Nerienes, et Nerienes et Neria, Sabinum verbum quo significatur virtus et fortitudo—unde ex Claudiiis, quos a Sabinis oriundos accepimus, qui erat egregia ac præstanti fortitudine Nero appellatus est."

LACRYMÆ, "tears." Undoubtedly the same as the Greek *δακρυα*, and quoted merely to show that it was not through the Latin that many words common to the Greek, Latin, and Cumrian languages, crept into the latter, as the Cum. word is still Dagræ, "tears."

RHEDA,² "a carriage with four wheels, a cart;" a Gallic word, as we are told by Quintilian, although both Cæsar and Cicero scrupled not to use it. The root is the Cum. Rhedeg, "to run," on the same principle as *currus* comes from *curro*. Thus, also, on the same principle as *ροχος*, "a wheel," comes from *ροχω*, the Cum. Rhod, "a wheel," comes from Rhedeg. But Rhod is the Cum. form of Rota, a word confessedly Latin. Rhod is, both in itself and its derivatives, used as extensively in the Cumrian, as Rota and its derivatives in Latin. Petorritum, "a four-wheeled carriage," is Cum. Pedair-Rhod, "four wheels."

RITUS, "rites, ceremonies, customs." Cum. Rhaith, plur. Rheithas, "legal decisions, laws, rights, privileges." Pen Rhaith Yw Duw, "Caput Ritûs est Deus."

PALMA, Greek *πалаμη*, "the hand or palm." Cum. Palv. (contracted Pawen, a paw) Armor. Palf, whence we can illustrate the Latin Palpo, "to grope, to feel one's way," and Palpator, Cum. Palvadur, "a groper," &c. Hence also Palpebræ, "eye-feelers," and probably Papillæ also.

PELLO, "to drive from, to push away;" from the Cum. Pêll, "far distant;" Pelli and Pellaü, "to put far from one, to render remote or distant."

PENATES, "household gods, originally the chief gods of either the state or a family." According to Macrobius,³ the Penates of Rome were Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and Vesta. Cicero⁴ derives their name from Penus or Penitus, "quod penitus insident," others from different sources. The root appears to be in any case the Cum. Pen, "a head." Hence Penaeth (which in a Roman's mouth would become Penât), "a principal, he who

¹ Etymologists would derive this from No, to swim, and refer to the Greek *ναυος* as an illustration; but the masculine, swimmer, is Natator, and Natrix is itself masculine: "Et natrix violator aquæ."—See Forc. in verbo.

² The Cumrian, like the Greek, aspirates the letter R at the commencement of a word.

³ Lib. iii. Saturn, c. 4.

⁴ *De Natura Deorum*, lib. iii. cap. 29.

is pre-eminent, a chief." The old nominative singular was *Penas*, on the same principle as *Primas*, *Optimas*, &c.

PENITUS, "within, interior, inmost, and innermost," from which the preceding, according to some, was derived, is also connected with the Cum. *Pen*, which signifies not only a head, but also an end, as "*Pen-Tir Lloegur*," "*Caput terræ Liguriæ*," "the Land's End of England." *Pen-ucha r tŷ*, "*Caput interius Tecti*," "the innermost room in a cottage;" *Scotice*, *Ben*; Latin, *Penus*; but latterly confined to express the innermost cell of the sanctuary of *Vesta*. *Heliogabalus*, "in *Penum Vestæ*, quod solæ *Virgines Solique Pontifices* adeunt, irrupit." From the same root, prolific of words in this and other languages, spring—

PENES, *Penes me*, "in my house," consequently "in my power," answering in the first place to *apud me*, in Latin, and *chez moi*, in French, and in its secondary meaning to the *ἐν μοί* of the Greeks, in my power. Of its first meaning we have ample instances. *Ter. Adelph. 4 24*: *Istæc jam penes vos psalteria est?* "Is that dancing girl in your house?" *S. Ellamintus*. "She is within," &c. &c. The secondary meaning needs no illustration. From *Pen*, with its signification of "end," came *Penis* and *Peniculus*, "a tail," and many other words.

POPINA, "a cook-shop, an eating-house," derived by scholars from *Popa*, the minister who struck the sacrificial victim with a mallet, and who was supposed, on authority which I cannot find, to vend the flesh of victims. By an edict of *Nero*,¹ "nothing cooked except pulse and herbs was allowed to be sold in *Popinis*," although previously every kind of obsonium was exposed to sale in such places; and *Tiberius*, during a dearth, forbade even pastry-work to be sold in cook-shops. On the whole, the *Popinæ* of Rome appear to have united our eating house and pastry-shop. The root appears to have been the Cum. *Pobi*, "to bake, to roast;" *Pobi bara*, "to bake bread;" *i bobi golwyn*, "to roast a joint." (*Vide Owen's Dictionary*.) *Poban*, "an oven;" *Pobur*, *Pobwr*, and *Pobid*, "a baker."

POPULUS, "the people, the community;" "*Plebs* (*Says Aulus Gellius*,² on the authority of a competent witness, *Ateius Capito*) differt a *populus*, quia hoc nomine *omnis pars civilis omnesque ejus ordines* continentur, *Plebs* vero ea dicitur in quâ gentes civium patriciæ non insunt." The old form of writing the word was *Populus*, Cum. *Pobol*, and contracted *Pobl*, not unlike the Etruscan form, *Puplu*, as seen in old inscriptions. The root is *Pawb* and *Pob* (*vide Owen's Dict.*), "every body, all persons." *Pob ac un*, *omnis et unus*, "one and all." *Pob-un*, "every one."

PRETIUM or **PRÆCIUM**, "the money value of an article;" apparently the general name, at an early period, for the precious metals. Even in later

¹ *Lampridius in Vita*, c. 5.

² *Suetonius in Ner. cap. 16.*

³ *Lib. x. cap. 20.*

times, it seems to have retained this primary meaning. Thus Horace,¹ alluding to Jupiter's transmutation into gold,

"Converso in pretium deo."

And Ovid :—

"In pretio pretium est, dat census honores."

And still stronger :—

"Argentum felix, omnique beatius auro,

Quod pretium fuerit quum rude, numen erit."²

Now, Pres is in Cum. copper, the only metal which the early Romans coined into money. It is also to be remarked that, to this day, especially in North Wales, the word Pres is limited to copper coin. Pris, Anglice Price, is closely connected, both in spelling and pronunciation, with it.

PRO-CERUS, long compounded of the preposition, and Cērus, "unknown." It is the Cum.³ "hīr" (*vide* Owen's *Dict.*), "long." The Triads have recorded three lines, which they attribute to King Arthur, and which some antiquaries may wish to see, as the only literary composition of that famous monarch :—

Sev-ynt fy nhri Cad-varchog,

Mael hīr a LīrlLlŷydo g,

A cholovn Cymrŷ Caradog.

Hi sunt mei tres Pugnæ equites,

Mael pro-cērus ac Lear, copiis instructus,

Atque columna Cambriæ Caradog.

PULVINAR and PULVINUS, "a pillow and bolster." Some of the older scholars acknowledged Pulvinar to be a change of letters from Pluvinum; root, Pluma, "feathers"; but in Cum. Pluma are Plŷv, whence Pluvinar, "without any change." In Cornish, with a different termination, but from the same root, it was Pluvog. Again, by a change similar to that in the Latin, the common name in Wales is Pilwg, Engl. Pillow.

PLANTA, a Latin word, single in form but double in meaning. In one sense it comes from Planum, "flat," and means the sole of the foot. In another sense, it means "a young sucker," which, if detached from the parent tree, and again committed to the earth, will itself become a tree. In the first sense it has only one derivative, "Plantaris," used by Statius and Valerius Flaccus, to describe the feet-wings of Mercury. The other has a numerous offspring, and has entered deeply into the composition of the English language. Now, the Cum. Plant means "offspring, children"

¹ Lāb. iii. od. 16, ver. 8.

² *Past.* v. 317, lib. ii. *Es. Pont.* Ep. 8. v. 5.

³ It is a constant practice to represent the Latin S, by the Cum. H, and vice versa, e.g.—

Sērus, hwyŷ.

Sal, Halen.

Sag-um, hyg and hygan.

Sol, Haul, &c.

(see Owen's *Dict.*), root, plan, "a scion or shoot"; whence the verb *Planū*, "to plant, to set shoots." One might imagine that the Cumrian meaning was before Virgil's eyes when he wrote the following line:—

"Hic plantas tenero abscondens de corpore matrum;"

literally, "one separating the children from the tender bosom of their mother."

QUÆRO, and *QUÆSO*, "I seek." Thus Festus, "*Quæso ut significat idem quod rogo, ita quæsere ponitur ab antiquis pro quærere, ut apud Ennium libro secundo* :—

"nautisque mari quæsentibu' vitam," &c.

From this observation, and from the practice of the classical writers, we find that *Quæro*, in the sense of seeking, had ceased to be used by the Romans long before their settlement in Britain. But the Cum. *Ceisio*, and *Ceiso* (*vide Dict.*), still means "to seek, to go after, and fetch," and has its own noun, *Cais*, "both a petition and an attempt." *Quæso* and *Ceisio* are in utterance the same word.

QUIS, "Who?" Cum. *Pwy*? This interchange of the *p* and *qu*, refers to a period still more remote than that in which the *r* and *s* were mutually interchanged. We know not when the *qu* or *q* was thrown out of the Greek alphabet; probably it was rejected with all the harsher sounds represented by the letter *ω*, whether single or preceded by gutturals. We know that in some cases it was replaced in Attic Greek by the *π*, in Ionic by the *Ϸ*, e.g. the Latin *qua* became in the former dialect *πρ*, in the latter *Ϸρ*. This change was imported to a certain extent into Italy, as we find from Festus that the Oscans called *quidquid*, *pitpit* or *pirpit*, and *quispiam* and *nuspiam* became Latin words. But the Cumrian, which broke off its connection with the Latin language before it formed or admitted the pronoun relative *qui*, *quæ*, *quod* (a form of speech unknown both to the Cumrian and Homeric languages) writes the important interrogatives *Pwy*, "who?" and *Pa*, "what?" invariably with a *P*, while the latter form is again in Irish, *Ka*. With this previous explanation, I venture to submit, that the Cum. *Pa val*, "of what kind?" compounded of *pa* and *mal*, "like," and *Pa vaint*, "of what size?" made up of *pa* and *maint*, "size," furnish us, if we change again the Cum. *pa* into the Latin *qua*, with the true origin and meaning of the Latin—

Qualis, "of what kind?"

Quantus, "of what size?"

For further illustration, I furnish a copy of some observations from Owen's *Dict.* under *Maint*, *mal*, *pa*. *Maint*,¹ "magnitude, size, bigness, great-

¹ *Maint*, in French (magnitude applied to numbers, in Cum. to size, two relations which continually interchange, as *μικροί*, "a few;" *parvus*, "small"), is a derivative from *Magnus*, or some cognate form. *Magnitas* in French would become *Maint*, as *Magis* becomes *Mais*; *Pagus*, *Pais*, &c.

- ness, quantity." Pa vaint syd yna, "quantum sit in eo" (loco). Mal, "like, similar to;" Mal hyn, pronounced Val hyn, "in this manner." Pa, "what;" Pa vod, "in what manner," Quo modo.
- QUALUS**, "a basket of twigs, wicker work." Cum. Cawell, "a hamper or basket;" root, Caw, "a holder which retains or keeps things together."
- TALPA**, "a mole;" from Cum. Talp and Talpen, "a mass, a lump, a knoll, a round heap not large, a knob;" in the same manner as Mole came from Mould-warp, "the caster up of earth."
- TRANS**, "on the further side of, beyond, over, across;" root, Tra, as may be seen in ultra, contra, intra, &c. But Cum. Tra is a noun (*vide* Owen's *Dict.*), "an extreme, an excess;" also a preposition, as tra munid, "over the mountain;" Trans montem, tra môr, "trans mare." The Latin noun Traba, "a cross-beam," is the Cum. Traws, "a cross-beam, or a cross man."
- VAGINA**, "a sheath." Italian, Guaina. Cum. Gwain; signifying "a sheath or the carriage of a sword," as our ancestors called it, and "a waggon," the vulgar pronunciation of vagina, as wain is that of gwain.
- VATES**, "a name for Roman poets before the time of Ennius," as he thus attacks Nævius:—

"scripsere alii rem

Versibus quos olim Fauni Vatesque canebant."

That it was a Gallic word we know well, as Strabo, when speaking of the Gauls in general, writes, *παρ' ἀπασι δὲ ὡς ἐπικαν τρια φυλα των τιμωμένων διαφορῶντες εἰσι* Βάρδοι, τε καὶ Οὐατίς, καὶ Δρυΐδαι. Βάρδοι μὲν ἑμνῆται καὶ ποιῆται, Οὐατίς δὲ ἡρωποιοὶ καὶ φυσιοῦργοι, Δρυΐδαι τε πρὸς τῇ φυσιοῦργίᾳ καὶ τὴν θηϊκὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσποῦσιν. "But among all the Gauls there are three classes of men who are held in especial honour, Bards, Vates, and Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates, sacred ministers and natural philosophers; the Druids, to physiology add the study of moral philosophy." It was this sacred order that left its name to the poets and prophets of ancient Italy. Now, the Cum. form of Vates is Ovid, written Ovydd, of which we have the following explanation in Owen's *Dict.*:—"One who is initiated into first principles or elements, a scientific personage, a natural philosopher, a teacher of science, the name for a member of the scientific class, in the Bardic system. An ovato." Probably the name Ovidius is a derivative of the Cum. Ovid.

- VERUS**, "true, genuine, not false, not disguised." Cum. Gwir, "the pure fluid, the ether, truth, right." In Latin also, Verus had this meaning of right, as Servius says on the passage, *Æn.* 12. v. 694.—

"me Verius unum

Pro vobis fœdus luere et decernere ferro."

"Verius justus.—Verum enim quod rectum et bonum appellabant." Gwyrod, a derivative from Gwir, "the pure fluid," means strong unadulterated liquors of all kinds. (See Owen's *Dict.*) Hence the connec-

tion of *merus*, noun *merum*, with *Verus*. The Greek *αληθεια*, "no concealment, transparency," agrees in meaning with the Cum. *Cwitr*. If the English *truth*, come from the verb, to *trow*, as *Horne Took* inferred, it is a memorable proof of barbarism in our Saxon forefathers, and enough of itself to destroy all ideas of truth and right.

VERGO, "to incline, to bend to." Cum. *Gwyro*, "to make crooked, to bend, to *swerve*, to go *awry*."

VIRIDIS, "green, flourishing;" Cum. *Gwyrd*. In the Cornish dialect, which, less harsh and guttural, throws great light upon the cognate languages, it is *Gwer*, French *Ver-d*. That *Viridis* had this form in Latin, appears not only from *Ver*, "the green season," but from *Verbena*, "any green sod or tree," and *Vervactum*, "ground ploughed down in the green sod," in opposition to stubble land. See the word in *Forcellini*, and the mistake of *Pliny* there alluded to.¹

SEVERUS, "strict, severe, sharp;" root, *Chwevyr*, "violence;" *Chwevri*, "to act or affect severely;" *Chwevryd*, "a severe one." I have only time to allude to a large class of words beginning with *Chw*, and which are found in Latin with an *S* or *V*. Suffice it to give two examples:—

SOCER, "a father-in-law;" in Cum. *Chwegyr*. The German *Schwager* means "a brother-in-law." When *Homer* wrote, either *Chw* or *Schw*, was used, as can be proved from *φίλοι σκρυς*, so well known.

SOROR, "a sister;" Cum. *Chwaer*; Corn. *Hôr*, the Latin form without the termination; Germ. *Schwester*. Italian *Suora*, where the aspirate still seems to have a place. But this head is inexhaustible.

SORS, **SORTIS**, **SORTES**, "lot, chances." That which falls out, "id quod accidit;" Cum. *Syrth* and *Swrth*, "a fall, a lot, a chance," from the verb *Syrthio*, "to fall." In Corn. *Swrth* would be written "sort."

I cannot conclude the paper without entering more at large into an explanation of two words, which, in my opinion, would of themselves be sufficient to prove the radical connection of the Latin and Cumrian languages, these are,

Mœnia, "walls," and **Præda**, "a prey."

And, first. **Mœnia**, "walls;" sing., **Mœne**, from the Cum. **Maen**, "a stone;" plural, **Meini**, **Mein**, "stones." If this be the root, **Mœnia** must signify stone walls, in opposition to the wooden defences or earthen ramparts. These are expressed by **Vallum**, from **Vallus**, "a stake," and **Agger**, from **Ad-gero**, "to throw up." The probability therefore is, that **Mœnia**, by which the strongest defences are in general meant, were made

¹ Page 194.

of stone. An examination of Moenio, the verb of Mœne and Moenia, and more commonly written Munio, will furnish us with a proof that such probability is almost certain. For we find that Munire viam, is "eam sternere lapidibus;" *e. g.* "Perinde¹ quasi Appius ille cœcus viam munierit, non qua populus uteretur, sed ubi posteri ejus impune latrocinaarentur." Nay more, Tacitus, who is fond of recurring to the original meaning of words, puts in the mouth of Galgacus the strong expression, "Sylvas et Paludes emunire," "to make strong causeways through woods and marshes." Closely connected with Moenia is Munus, written by the ancients Moenus, which, if Varro² is right, was "the metal or earth required from each soldier when a position was to be fortified;" for after explaining, according to his theory, the source of Munus, "a gift," he adds, "Alterum Munus, quod muniendi causa imperatum," "Another Munus is that which is ordered for the purpose of fortifying;" hence he derives "Municipes, qui una Munus fungi debent," "who are bound to the common defence of their town;" hence Immunes, "those who are free from such or any other public burden;" hence Munera, "offices, originally, as in England, *parish burdens*, but latterly, when wealth increased, sought after, and highly valued." Cognate with Munus, in the sense of metal, we have the Cum. Mwn, or Mwyn, "ore, anything dug out of the earth," *e. g.* Mwyn aur, "gold mine;" Mwyn arian, "silver mine," &c.; whence, Anglice, "Mine." It is difficult to account how Minium, "red lead," took the generic name. We only know that the Romans supposed it to have been derived from the *Minius amnis* (the Minho), which probably derived its name from it. Because Vitruvius,³ "Minium inquit et Indicum nominibus ipsis indicant, quibus in locis procreantur." It is a curious coincidence, that, to this day, Gwaith Mwyn, in Wales, always means "a lead-mine." From Moenus, or Munus, "a metal," came undoubtedly Moneta, "money." Cum. Mwnai, "money coin," as in Ovid, *Fast.* v. 221,—

¹ Cicero. *Pro Milon.* cap. 7. ² *De Ling. Latin.* lib. v. 42. ³ In fine cap. ix. l. 7

Æra dabant olim : melius nunc omen in auro est,
 Victaque concedit prisca moneta novæ,—

(the fable about Juno Moneta, root, Moneo, with a Greek termination, is unworthy of serious notice), and Munus and Munera, "gifts."

Secondly, Præda, "a prey," from the Cum. Praid, plur. Preidæ.

In Owen's *Dictionary* we have the following explanation of Praid, "a flock or herd; also a booty or spoil of cattle taken in war."

"Praid gŷv-reithiol, pedair bu ar ŷgaint a Tharw," Welsh Laws. "A legal herd, twenty-four cows, and a bull." Literally in Latin order, "Præda Corritualis, Quatuor boves super viginti et Taurus."

In the Latin transmitted to us, we find Præda with the secondary meaning alone, acquired by the Romans at an early age, when the robber wolf was their favourite emblem, and their neighbours' flocks and herds were regarded as legitimate objects of plunder. But there are, if I am not much mistaken, some Latin words still extant, which were formed in a more Saturnian age, when Præda had not lost its proper signification of "flocks and herds." Among these are,

Prædium,

Præs,

Præditus.

Concerning the meaning of the word Prædium, there is no doubt. All interpret it to be a "farm," or "landed property." "Possessio," says Forcellini, "omnia bona complexitur, mobilia et immobilia; Prædium immobilia tantum." The Roman philologists, if we can honour them with the name, wished to derive Prædium from Præs, "a personal security," as if the first quality of landed property which would occur to a simple and early race, was the power of mortgaging it. In later times, such a confusion of ideas is perhaps possible, from the close connection between landed property and mortgages. But assuredly its liability to be mortgaged could not,

in an early age, have been the accident most likely to strike the sense, and to induce men to name land after it. What among the Sabine hills, and in a half-pastoral state, could have given a better idea of a farm than to call it from *Præda*, "flocks and herds," *Prædium*, their "grazing ground," just as we to this day call a mountain farm a *sheep-walk*?

From *Prædium* (on the same principle as from *Pretium*, *interpres-pretis*, "a broker, a price-settler between two foreign merchants") came *Præs*, *Prædis*, "the possessor of a *Prædium*, or of *Prædia*;" secondarily, "one who would give good security, heritable security as it is called in Scotland." *Asconius*, in his commentary on *Cicero's* speech against *Verres*,¹ has the two following passages:—"Bona *Prædia*, dicuntur bona, satisfactionibus obnoxia, sive sint in mancipiis sive in pecunia numerata; *Prædia* vero domus, agri." "*Prædia* sunt res ipsæ, *Prædes* homines, id est fidejussores, quorum res bona *Prædia* dicuntur;" of which this appears to be the translation:—"Bona *prædia* (two terms as usual in Roman law formularies, put together without a conjunction, as *patres conscripti*, &c.) are called the goods liable to be seized by creditors, whether they consist of saleable property or of ready money, but *Prædia* are *house, lands*." "*Prædia* are the things themselves; *Prædes*, the men who have given security, whose property is called by one name, Bona-*prædia*," *i.e.* what we call property, personal and real. *Vendere Prædem* was what is still called by lawyers to "sell up a man," that is, to sell all his property. In ancient times, under the cruel law of Rome, the man himself might have been liable to sale. The Roman etymologers have written much nonsense on this word, but not so much as emendators have compelled them to write. *Varro* says, it comes from *Præsto* est, which has been changed into an adverbial *Præs*, as if there had been any such word in the language. In taking security, no lawyer regards the mere person, or cares whether he be absent or present, if he be not rich and able to answer when pressed for the debt. *Præs* is therefore equivalent to "locu-

¹ *Orat. Adver.* lib. iii. 54.

ples," "full of land, rich in land." Hence "*locuples reus*," "*qui cum se obligarit, habet unde solvat, et idoneus est implendo promisso*." Besides all this, had the imaginary *Præs*, or the real *Præsto*, been the root of *Præs*, *Prædis*, it would have applied with equal force to one who gave security in criminal cases, either to present himself, "*se sistere*," or to bring into court him for whose appearance he had become bail. But, as Forcellini properly observes, "*differt præ a vade, vas enim est qui pro alio spondet in re capitali, præ qui in re nummaria*."

Præditus, "endowed or vested." This we know cannot come from *Præ*, and "do, to give." First, because there is no such compound; secondly, because, if it had once existed in the language, it would signify that its substantive "had been given beforehand," since *datus* and *donatus* cannot be interchanged. It appears to have been first applied to a person invested or endowed with landed property, and that it was thence metaphorically transferred to all endowments, physical and intellectual. We have now no hesitation in saying that "a man is possessed of many good qualities," because *Possideo*, at the period when Roman literature commenced, signified "to possess." But in older times *Possessio*, formed out of *Pro-sedeo*, signified only preoccupation, "a sitting," or, as the Americans have it, "a squatting," on ground not legally conveyed. We know what radical mistakes in Roman history occurred from a mistake in the meaning of the two words, "*Possessores agrorum*."

Connected with the idea of property are three other words, which are also derived from the Cumrian, these are—

Idoneus,

Divitiæ,

Bonus, and *Bona*.

Idoneus, "proper, suitable," &c. originally applied to men of property, hence "rich, wealthy." Hear Caius¹ (for lawyers, as I have before observed, are more retentive of the original meaning of words), "*Si ab idoneo debitore ad inopem trans-*

¹ Lib. et tit. 4, Leg. 27.

tulerit obligationem," i.e. "ab eo debitore, qui est solvendo."¹ Here *Idoneus*, "rich," and *Inops*, "poor," are put in opposition to each other. So, also, in Ulpian, "*Tutores et Fidejussores idonei*," are twice opposed to those "*qui lapsi sunt facultatibus*" (ruined men). Thus, also, it changes places with *Locuples*, as *Testis idoneus*, *Testis locuples*, *Auctor locuples*, *Auctor idoneus*. The root of this is the Cum. *Eid-ion*, vulg. *Eidon*, "an ox," the generic name of kine, for beef is always called "*cig eidon*." In the Cum. Italy is always called "*Y'r eidal*," close enough to identify it with *Italia*, derived from *Italus*, "an ox."

Divitiæ seem as clearly referable to the Cum. *Dav-ad*, plur. *Deveid*, or, as the word is written in old documents, *Deveit*, "a sheep, and sheep." Indeed I doubt not that *Davad* and *Devaid* are compound words, made up of *Dav* or *Dôv*, "tame," and *Eid*, the root of *Eidon*, still to be found in the literary language of Ireland as the generic name for "cattle" (see *Ed. and Eid. in Ed. Lloyd's Irish Dict.*); and that the animals reclaimed from their wild state, and domesticated by man, bore this name, which was subsequently transferred to express the wealth of man. He who, therefore, is inclined to deny that *Pecunia* and *Pecuniosus* come from *Pecus*, may also refuse his assent to the inference that *Divitiæ* comes from *Deveit*. I could as easily show that *Duonus*, the original form of *Bonus*, is also of Cum. origin; but I abstain, and reluctantly close the present paper.

Desiderata for a further prosecution of the subject:—

Vocabularies of the language spoken among the hills of *Umbria*, *Rhætia*, *Liguria*, the *Maritime Alps*, and *Auvergne*.

¹ Lib. xxvii. tit. 8, Leg. 1.

THE VIRGILIAN COSMOGONY.

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Scmina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis, ut his exordia primis,
Omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis,
Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea Ponto
Cooperit. et rerum paullatim sumere formas.
Jamque novum ut terræ stupeant lucescere solem
Altius atque cadant submotis nubibus imbres,
Incipiant sylvæ cum primum surgere, cumque
Rara per ignotos errent animalia montes
Hinc lapides Pyrrhæ jactos.

VIRGIL, *Eclogue vi.* ver. 31.

Of all the divisions of things existent, the most simple and complete, in my opinion, is that of Plato, who, partly borrowing his system from the Pythagoreans, taught, that all things might finally be resolved into five ideas or forms:—*οὐσία*, which at present I will not attempt to represent by any English term, but which is in general rendered *substance*; *το αὐτό*, *the same*, or as often called *το ἐν*, *the one*, and *το ἕτερον*, *the second*, also called *το ἄλλο*, *the other*. The *οὐσία*, therefore, or the *το ον*, was by Plato held to consist of either of these separately, or of the results of their union, or of the action of the one upon the other.

But, instead of expressing the Platonic doctrine on these points in my own words, it will be more satisfactory to the Society to hear it from the mouth of Plato's own teacher, Timæus the Locrian, whose precious treatise, *Περὶ Ψυχῆς τοῦ*

Κοσμου, has been transmitted to us along with Plato's own writings; of which little work, Bekker, in his edition of Plato, thus speaks:—"This is truly a golden book, and a splendid monument of the more pure doctrine of the very ancient philosophers, and a correct outline of the above discussion of Plato (Bekker refers to the *Timaeus*), copiously followed out by the Athenian concerning nature. And the *Timaeus* was written only as a commentary for the fuller and more lucid explanation of this treatise. Hence Plato's candour induced him even to retain the name."

Now, this is the translation of the first chapter of the Locrian:

"Thus spoke Timaeus the Locrian: that there are two causes of all things existent *νοῦς* (mind), of those things that are being born (*κατὰ λόγον*) under the direction of *λογος*; and *ἀνάγκη* (necessity) the cause of all that is being done violently (*βία*), in accordance with the powers inherent in bodies (*σωμάτων*). That of these two, the one is participant of the good nature, and is called God, and the principle of all that is best; but that all that is secondary, and the result of conjoint action, must be referred to necessity (*ἀνάγκη*); and that all things existent are the *ἰδεα* (or God), *ὕλη* (or matter), and the *αἰσθητὸν* (that which is perceptible by our five senses); and that the first (God) is *ἀγεννατον*, not subject to birth; *ἄκινατον*, not subject to motion, and permanent, and of the nature of the one, and the *type-source* of all things that are being born, whatever they are, which are in a continual state of change, for that such the *ἰδεα* is called and understood to be. But that the *ὕλη* is the well-wrought (wax, mould, clay, or dough), and the mother and the nurse and the actual bearer of the third, *οὐσία*; and that having received the stamp of the models upon herself, and having there given them material shape, she perfects these productions. *He* said that this *ὕλη* was *αἰδίων*, not however *ἄκινατον*, but without self-power or assuming form or shape (*ἁμορφωτὸν καὶ ἀσχηματιστὸν*) but a recipient, of every form." * * *

"Now, these two are contrary to each other, of which, the *εἶδος* has some analogy to a male and a father, but *ὕλη* to a female

and a mother. But he said that their offsprings were the third existents; and these, being three, are recognized by three: the *ἰδεα* by the *νοῦς* (intellect), scientifically, that is, certainly; the *ὕλη* by a process of reasoning not logical but analogical, because it can by no means be directly comprehended by the *νοῦς*; but that their joint offsprings (*ἀπογεννηματα*), at a later period (*τα φαινόμενα*), are cognizable by the senses and opinion (*αἰσθησεῖς καὶ δόξα*).

From this system Plato borrowed his five categories to which all things might finally be referred. First, *οὐσία*, *existence*; second, the *τ'αὐτό*, or the *το ἐν*, *the same*, or *the one*; third, the *το ἕτερον*, called also the *το ἄλλο*, *the second*, or *the other*; fourth, *στάσις*, *immobility* and *permanence*, the characteristic of the *το ἐν*; and fifth, *κίνησις*, or *motion*, the characteristic of the *το ἕτερον*.

To express more intelligibly to common minds the relation supposed to exist between the *το ἐν* and the *το ἕτερον*, the first was called *πατήρ*, or *mover* in an active and primary sense; the other, *μητήρ*, or *μητήρ*, a *mover* in a passive or, rather, secondary sense. These, either in a separate or united state, were supposed to constitute the *το οὐν*, and from them all entities were supposed to flow. The Doric form, *μητήρ*, became *mater* and *materies* in Latin, in English *mother* and *matter*; while *πατήρ* became *pater* in Latin, in English *father*.

The existence of the *το ἐν* was held to be absolutely intelligible, that is, that it was cognizable by the *νοῦς*, without necessarily including the notion of any other existent. But the existence of the *το ἕτερον* was supposed to be only relatively intelligible. In other words, the *το ἐν* was, in grammatical language, the positive, the *το ἕτερον* the comparative, for *ἕτερος* is only a comparative form of *ἓς*. In the same manner, *ἓς* is *one* absolutely, *ἄλλος* *one* relatively; *ἓς* is, in English, *one*; *ἄλλος*, *another* or *one more*. In the same way *ἓν* is, in Latin, *one* absolutely; *ἄλιος*, the liquified form of *ἄλλος*, *another*; while the comparative *ἕτερος*, is represented by *alter*, a comparative form of *ἄλλος*, *ἄλλοτερος*, *alter*. To the *το ἐν*, *incapa-*

bility of change, was assigned to the *το αλλο*, a capacity of boundless change. These remarks are not the results of verbal trifling, but the prolific parents of innumerable deductions. The very words which signify *change* are, in the Greek language, in a great measure derived from *αλλος*. Hence *αλλομαι*, *I spring, I change place*; *αλλασσω*, *I change*. *Απαλλκττομαι*, *I change place*; *αλλωω*, *I alienate*, &c.

Even the words that signify *growth*, which is nothing but a new concretion of *matter*, also signify *change* or *alteration*. Hence *στρεφω*, *I turn*; *τρεπω*, *I turn*; *τρεφω*, *I nourish*,—are slightly modified forms of the same root, and signify *to make, to change*. The Latin *alo* is only the archaic form of the Greek *αλλω*, in its active form.

The inventors or receivers of the Greek language made man an offshoot partly from the *πατηρ*, and partly from the *ματηρ*. They derived his mind or *νοος* from God the Father who gave it, and his body from the organized *ματηρ*. But what is the English word *mind*? Nothing but a corrupted form of the Latin *mens*, which again is only a corrupted form of the Greek *μενος*. But this word signifies the same as the *το εν* and the *το μενον*, *that which is one and permanent*. This, according to the system under consideration, being an efflux or emanation of the infinite *εν*, was held to be itself one and indivisible, destined to remain in its mortal habitat, from the moment the spark, *aurai simplicis ignis*, was first kindled in the infant foetus, until the day of death, when it winged its way to other worlds.

In the meantime, the body (literally, the abode, in which it abode), after a limited existence in a continual state of flux, finally decayed, and was resolved into its constituent materials.

Hence, long anterior to history, prevailed the idea, that all virtue and goodness flowed from the one, and all sin and evil from the other, and that soul and body were contrary principles, united, indeed, for a time, but struggling within narrow lists for the pre-eminence. But the principle of analogy was carried further; for in the union between man and wife, the

male was supposed to hold the place of the *πατήρ*, the female of the *μήτηρ*. Hence, also, our globe was especially, as being the principal concretion of *ὕλη*, called *Δῆ Μήτηρ*, or *Δῆ Μητήρ* (Demeter), *Mother Earth*.

She was also called in Greek mythology, *Πεα*, *Ματὴρ οὐρεῖα*, *Τροία*, *Ιλῆα*, and other such names. In Latin, *Venus*, *Venilia*, *Ilia*, *Sylvia*, *Marica*, *Salacia*, &c. This *ὕλη*, when analyzed into its constituent elements, was supposed to consist of individual atoms, originally dispersed through boundless space, but collected into various masses. Now, the older philosophy invariably introduced a Creator as the arranger and architect of the universe.

This mind-agent is the very soul of the Pythagorean system, and of every system traditionally received with the seeds of civilization from the Eastern World. It equally pervades the Orphic, the Homeric, and Druidical systems; and it was left to Epicurus, an ignorant man, to whom the knowledge imported by Democritus became known, to withdraw the architect from the work, and describe our visible world as the result of certain laws inherent in the original atomic particles. And it is this imperfect and garbled theory which we find represented in the above lines of Virgil.

The whole system as laid down by Epicurus, is faithfully handed down to us in the splendid poem of Lucretius. But all that is truth-like and living in it was long anterior to the times of Epicurus, while all that is fallacious and unreal was added by the unscrupulous Gargettian. The *semina rerum*, according to the old philosophers, were capable of assuming four states:—Solids, of which the earth was the representative; liquids, of which water was the type; air, represented by the breathable atmosphere; and the imponderables, of which fire was the type.

The very old philosophers, the *πυμπαλαῖοι* of Aristotle, added a *quinta essentia* of which the *æther*, or that subtle fluid which was supposed to flow through all space, and bind together all the component parts into one body, was the representative.

We know that the later Platonists, who founded their system upon the Platonic Timæus, regarded this *quinta essentia* as an Aristotelian heresy; although Aristotle repeatedly affirms, that it was not his discovery or assertion, but a traditionary doctrine handed down from the primitive ages; concerning it he affirms, that the very ancients called it *αἰθήρ*, from the fact that it was always in motion, and that its motion was naturally circular motion.

There are very striking illustrations of this doctrine to be derived from various sources, which will eventually, perhaps, tend to identify this *τιμιότατον τῶν στοιχείων*—this *το πρώτον στοιχεῖον*, with our electric fluid. We are told one remarkable fact by Aristotle, that Anaxagoras, who was the first Greek of history who attempted to elaborate physical theories for himself, in opposition to the dogmatic assertions of the priests, who might have inherited the truth, but had certainly lost the means of proving it, was the first who confounded the two names *αἰθήρ* and *πῦρ*, which before his time represented two different elements.

There is an Orphic fragment preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, which distinctly describes not only the five states in which the *ἕλη* might be found, but also that they were mutually resolvable into each other. Water is the death of the air, and a change back again is the death of water. Moreover, earth has its source in water, and from earth again springs water; from water again *ψυχὴ*, air, which forms or causes to revolve (as you choose two various readings) the whole ether.

These *semina rerum* were, according to the theory described in Virgil's *Eclogue*, collected into one mass, and served, when aggregated, to form our visible creation,

ut his exordia primis
Omnia et ipse tener mundi concreuerit orbis.

Here we must take care not to suppose that the *mundi orbis* was our globe. It was the *ovum mundanum* of later writers, the visible heavens with all contained within them, and bounded, according to the Aristotelian school, by a solid orbicular firma-

ment, formed on the principle of an arched vault, of which the keystone was thrt famous *Petra*, of which Festus, borrowing the words of Ælius Gallus, thus speaks :—" *Petra* is that stone which, on the right and left of Jupiter, is to turn (expletura est) the arch, for the equipoise of the highest arch. It is of this orbis, thus solidly constituted, that Horace writes :—

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

We all know how easy it was for even ignorant cosmogonists to suppose that the elements, as they were called, would subside, according to their respective gravitics, into any given congeries like our earth ; but that alone would never have produced the present form of our globe. Virgil, however, proceeds to state the facts, that dry land was produced, and the sea confined within certain limits,

Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea Ponto,

without hinting at any Creator, or any law by which such a result would be effected. Servius, the only commentator on Virgil worth consulting, says, by way of paraphrase, " For he sung how the *solum* began to harden itself, and by constriction to exclude the water before mixed with it." If, in truth, we take *solum* for the nominative, we must understand *to harden* absolutely, *i.e. to harden itself*, and refer all that follows to the *solum* and terrestrial objects. If *solum* is the accusative, all will belong to *mundi orbis*.

Hence, probably, the best translation is, " How all coarse outlines (exordia) and the yet tender orb of the universe itself, began to coneresce, then how it began to harden the terrestrial globe, and to confine Nereus within its bason, and hy degrees to assume the forms of things as they are at present."

By this translation we procure something like an agent in *orbis mundi*, who by some inherent power compresses the inanimate *ύλη*, and stamps it with those rude forms which the earth, the firmament, and the heavenly bodics would assume if devoid of the sun's light and of organized life.

As the *orbis cæli* was supposed to be a globe, so, also, was

our earth assumed, from a very early period, to have the same form. For the *solum* mentioned by Virgil, is only a Latin form of the Greek *ἅλος*, represented also in Latin by the Ennian *sollus*, as in the expression "he burnt," *sollos tauros*, by way of holocaust. But the whole also signifies *one*, for unity and totality resolve themselves finally into one idea. Hence the Greek *ἅλος*, the English *whole* or *sole*, has three representatives in Latin:—1st, "*solus*," *one* or *alone*, literally, *all one*; 2nd, the "*solum terra*," or "*orbis terrarum*," whence "*solidus*," the adjective by which solids are characterized; and 3rd, "*sol, solis*." Who is *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, *the one*, and was, in ancient mythology, always regarded as the best visible type of the *το ἓν*, as our *solum* was regarded as the best visible type of the *το ἅλλο*?

But although the Epicurean system tells us little of how the separation took place between dry land and the sea, or, in Virgil's language, how "*Nereus*," whose very name looks as if it was made up of *Νη*, *not*, and *ερα*, *land*, was despoiled of a portion of his dominions, and induced to retire within fixed limits, yet, if we go to the mythologists, we find this important era in the history of our globe distinctly traced out, as being the rebellion of the lurid giants, sons of earth, against the might of Jove. In this war the earth-born are described as vainly piling mountain on mountain, and preparing to tear down the ramparts of heaven. The utmost that Jove could do to prevent these infernal agents from confounding all things, was to bury them under their own up-thrown hills, whence they still vomit forth temporary flames and fires, and shake the earth in their efforts to remove the superincumbent pressure.

The very names of these *γίγαντες* are etymologically expressive of their volcanic character; and in mythology, etymology is almost always a trusty guide. Hence, "*Typhocus*" contains the idea of smoke and darkened air; "*Enceladus*," of a roaring storm; "*Rhoetus*," of the hissing blast of fire; "*Porphyrion*" is the fire-bearer; "*Otus*," the thruster; and "*Ephialtes*," the up-springer. So well preserved was this traditionary doctrine, that when Vesuvius, after a long repose, burst out A.D. 79,

the common people, as we are informed by the younger Pliny, thought, that amid the dense clouds and pyramids of smoke, glaring one while with the reflection of the volcanic fires, and at other times rent and pierced by the lightning flashes, they could recognize the forms of the rebellious giants engaged once more in deadly conflict with their celestial foes.

The same process is described in a Homeric simile, which seems to testify that the poet, although he nowhere else alludes to volcanic action, had personally witnessed an outbreak of the earth-confined fires. His words are,

“As if the whole ground was being devoured by fire. And the earth groaned internally, as under the lash of Jove delighting in thunder, when he is angry, and when he lashes the earth all around ‘Typhoeus,’ *εν Αἰμῶϊς*, where they say that the bed of Typhoeus is.”

The Greeks of history could make nothing of the expression *εν* or *εν Αἰμῶϊς*, and consequently supposed it to have been the name of a place. This place the Greeks of Asia placed in Cilicia, where there was an immense cavern, the crater of an exhausted volcano; and there even Pindar lodges the dragon-limbed “Typhoeus.” But the Greeks of Magna Græcia, who, as early settlers on the Campanian coast, were witnesses to the violent action of the volcanic fires within the bosom of the capacious crater now called the Bay of Naples, transferred the couch of Typhoeus to the island of Ischia. Hence Virgil’s lines:—

Tum Sonitu Prochyta alta tremit, durumque cubile
Inarime Iovis imperio imposta Typhoeo.

But the total ignorance of the Greeks of history concerning the literature of the Homeric poems, may well be inferred from these two extreme locations of one of the most striking scenes described within the range of the Homeric poems. Still more wonderful is it, that they should not have known that *Αἶψα* was only the Phrygian term for mountains, as we have it recorded in one of their glossaries.

Now, it can be proved from the *Iliad* itself, that the author

or authors of it must have dwelt in the immediate vicinity of the modern Smyrna. But Smyrna is within two days' journey of that portion of Phrygia which gave its name to the whole province. For *γη φρυγίη* means only the burnt land; and that portion of it particularly liable to the action of subterranean fires, which lies between the upper waters of the ancient Hermus and Mæander, was called by the Greeks themselves *Γῆ κατὰ κενάουρα*. Hence it is plain, that Homer uses the word *ἐν Ἀρίμοις*, among the mountains, in the same manner as an inhabitant of Edinburgh would speak of something that might be seen in the Highlands. And even Strabo, prosaic as he is in general, when expatiating on the excellence of the wines of *this* volcanic district, says that it was no bad fiction of the mythologists, that the mother of the true Bacchus had been reduced to cinders before the birth of the generous infant.

But, to close all doubts on this part of the subject, it will be sufficient to quote the following passage from the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, where the birth of the mountains is not only recorded, but the reason why this must have been a necessary step in the work of progressive creation :—

But the earth gave birth to long ridges of mountains, the genial lodgings
Of the goddess nymphs who dwell (or who flow) along the ravined mountains.

It can be easily shown that the Nymphai of mythology are those genial essences which form the “pabulum” of organized life. Hitherto the work of cosmogony is supposed to have gone on without the intervention of the action of the sun; for he is on every system supposed to have been introduced at a later period into the work of creation.

It was very easy for the Greeks of history to have imagined a state of things when all this globe was covered with an equally diffused coating of water, such as we see described in the following passage of the *Περὶ τῶν Μετεώρων* of Aristotle.

“But the wiser men say that, at first, every spot on the face of the globe was occupied by water; but that this being drained by the sun, being partly evaporated, formed the breathable air and the food of the sun and moon; and, being partly left in its

liquid state, became our present seas ; consequently, that these being gradually drained, would, in the end, as they thought, become altogether dry land."

But the older philosophy could not accept of any such solution of the difficulty, as no power emanating from the sun alone, could possibly account for those inequalities in the surface of the globe, which alone make it a fit habitation for the higher animals. Hence, we find, that they imputed the uprising of the mountains to forces inherent in the earth itself, and placed these active powers below its visible crust. Thus, as we are told in a *σχολιον* on Aristotle's treatise, *Περὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ*, "The Pythagoreans taught, that there was in the middle and round the centre of the earth a *δημιουργικόν* fire, and that it gave a cherishing and vital warmth to the earth, and preserved its orderly arrangement (*διακοσμήσιν*); and that the earth was a star, and that this star, revolving round its own axis, made night and day, because its conical shadow was night, and the portion of it illuminated by the sun was the day.

* * * Therefore, among other names, they called it *ἑστίας οἶκον καὶ Διὸς φυλακὴν*."

It was from this system of philosophy that Vesta, or *Ἑστία*, the goddess of fire, was made the mythos of our earth, but of our earth only at a time, when fire was the predominant element, when there could be no production, and when, consequently, she was the virgin earth, the goddess, not of genial life, but of vestal purity or chastity.

The next step described by Virgil, after the assumption of the present face of the framework of our visible creation, is the appearance of the sun :—

Jamque novum ut terræ stupeant lucescere solum.

In a paper like the present, I need not quote all the adducible proofs, but I can safely affirm, that the doctrine of a repeated destruction of the sun, and a consequent reappearance, is intimately interwoven with ancient mythology.

It may have, in the first instance, sprung from the fact of

his daily rising and setting, as when Horace says that he is daily born,

alter et idem;

or, with greater probability, from his annual declination in our hemisphere, and reascension: physical facts which were undoubtedly, on the one hand, lamented as a death, and on the other, hailed as a resurrection. But still there are strong grounds for believing, that a periodical destruction and a subsequent re-formation of all the visible phenomena, was one of the tenets of the more ancient systems. Thus Cicero tells us, that the ancient philosophers believed that in the revolution of the *annus magnus* there were fixed points during which the destruction of the present form of things was a certain and unavoidable result. I find a similar doctrine laid down by Aristotle, *Περὶ Μετεωρῶν*, only that he confines the result to a deluge. He says:—

“But the bulk and magnitude of our globe is a mere nothing in comparison with the whole *οὐρανός*. But on all these subjects we must suppose, that in the same manner as the winter (literally translated the rainy season) occurs among our division of the annual seasons, so, during a certain great revolution, there recurs a great *χειμῶν* and excess of rain.”

However this be, we find a firm conviction among all the civilized nations of antiquity, that the appearance of the sun was comparatively a late event in the order of creation, and that night, *nox sola*, brooded long over the first concretion of our globe. Hence, Virgil says, “The dry lands were seized with amazement when the sun began to shine.”

When the sun's light was first reflected from the round convexity of the sea, and from the partially dispersed mountain ridges which had emerged from below its surface, it could not have shone upon any being endowed with organized life. And it must have been under the fostering influence of the god of day, that Aphrodite, the Venus Marina of the Latins, our genial and productive power, first tried her “prentice hand” in the formation of marine shell-dwellers. Hence, she herself is

represented in mythology as emerging from the sea in her elegant shell-chariot; and hence especially the honours paid by poets and painters to that *ἐναλίο; λαβυρινθός*, which was looked upon for more causes than one, as a fit type of the foam-born goddess:—

Si tamen in dia quondam concreta profunda
Spuma fui, Graiumque manet mihi nomen ab illa.

If, says the poet, in the character of Venus,

If, however, formerly "concreta," in the deep vortex,
I was "spuma," and my Greek name still continues from that circumstance.

From the shell formation we can mythologically trace the introduction of the different inhabitants of the sea under the Mythoi of Ceto and Derceto and Phorcys, until we come to the Phocæ, the first beings who, as it may be supposed, made use of the newly raised rocks. Hence, those amphibious animals who feed in the sea, and rest and breed on the rocky shores, are described in mythology as the favourite herds of Proteus, one of the Greek mythos for the *το αλλο*, in its greatest capacity of undergoing change, and who, consequently, is described as assuming all shapes of organized existence. Proteus is the god who not only

immania
Armenta et turpes pascit sub gurgite Phocas,

but also leads them to repose themselves in the rocky grottoes with which the seashore is often indented.

Quum Proteus consueta petens e fluctibus antra
Ibat, cum vasti circum gens humida Ponti
Exultans rorem late dispergit amarum,
Sternunt se somno diversæ in littore Phocæ.

The next step described by Virgil is the effect of the action of the sun upon the face of the visible creation:—

Altius atque cadant submotis nubibus Imbres.

Now, the first effect of the newly created sun is to raise a vapour from the surface of the sea. This vapour is gradually raised by increasing heat to the higher ranges of the atmo-

sphere, where it first forms clouds, and then descends on the bare and virgin earth in the shape of rain. In Virgil's words,

And how the showers fall from the clouds, raised to a greater elevation.

The Latin word *imber* is a corrupted form of the Greek word *εμβρος*, which means *ros*, dew or flow that drops from the *ομβ*, the round expanse of the atmosphere. It was this feeder of land vegetation, and, consequently, of land animals themselves, that was made the object of especial attention with the ancient civilized world. It was regarded as the only form of the *ὕλη*, or the *το αλλο*, which could support the sentient existence of land animals. Hence the sun was regarded as the life-giver, because he was the author of dews and rain, or, more properly speaking, the chemical manufacturer of sweet and living water. Hence he was called *Λειβηρ*, *the distiller*; *Διωνυσος*, *the circulator of fluids*; and hence, in the older philosophy, he was identified with that water which flows from heaven.

Hence, in Hesychius, we find *λεβρον* explained *δινυρον*, *moisture*; and also *σελας*, *light*: because, as states the note, *λειβηρ* means both *water* and *the sun*; as among the Egyptians, Osiris is both *the sun* and *drinkable water*, such as is the Nile water. Hence, also, the constant association of *living water* with a *rock* or a *mountain*; for without the previous uprising of the mountains, the descent of the rains of heaven could not have proved beneficial to land vegetation and animals, but must have, as still the greatest portion is to this day, commingled their precious essences with the briny sea.

It was *ὕλη* in this purified state, and in a liquid form—for *ὕλη* and the Latin *uligo* are the same word—that was represented by the mythological term *νυμφη*; originally we know that this was *λυμφη*, the *ὕλη* set loose; but latterly it came to assume the meaning of the *το αλλο*, and to be the favourite term for a *bride*: "*plenis jam nubilis annis.*" Hence, also, the rich and precious essences which are extracted from the sea, and which, when dropped in fertilizing showers upon the face of the earth, and converted into the splendid beauties of the vegetable crea-

tion, are especially called *νυμφαι*. Hence, also, the *χαριτες*, or *gratiæ*, the myths of the colour, form, and fragrance, which the genial power loves to bestow upon her productions, were *νυμφαι*. So, also, were those muses, who, moving in obedience to their guide and leader the sun, dispensed from their perennial springs those living waters which caused their gardens to gladden the eye with perpetual bloom and verdure. Hence, also, the fifty Nereids; hence, the Oceanides, the Naiads, and Oreads, were all *νυμφαι*. "These," says Hesiod, speaking of them as the daughters of Oceanus and Tethys, the male and female myths of the sea—"These are they who, with King Apollo and the rivers, nourish men on earth. For this province they hold by Jove's appointment."

In fact, Apollo was the *Δημιουργος*, that is, the sun was the leading agent in loosening these benignant influences from the more sordid mass of their parent ocean, in raising them aloft, and again in causing them to descend upon the mountain heights, whence flowing in innumerable channels to one common bed, they formed those *ποταμοι* without whose refreshing aid life could not have existed in those regions where this language and system were invented.

"O Inachus," says a chorus in Euripides, addressing a river god, "O Inachus, the begetting father, child of the fountains who are themselves the children of Father Oceanus, you greatly benefit the fields of Argos, and the concretions of *Ηερα*, *Ηρατος Παιγους*."

In time the influence of sweet water, fostered and acted upon by the sun's rays, would rouse into existence those *semina rerum*, which, in the first place, would clothe the barren rocks with the lowest order of vegetable life. And these, decaying in the course of nature, would form a pabulum for more vigorous plants, until, in the course of ages, forests would wave where once the lichen alone had impressed its starry mark upon the naked rock. Hence Virgil very properly proceeds:—

Incipiant sylvæ quum primum surgere.

When the sylvæ, the vegetable world on land, began to rise.

It may be worth remarking here, that the word ὕλη, which originally was only another name for the το αλλο, should in historic Greek have come to represent what we mean by the word *wood* or *timber*. So also *sylva*, the Latin form of ὕλη, came to signify *wood*, and its synonym *materia* or *materies* came to signify *timber*.

The difficulties and dangers which the infant ὕλη had to undergo before she could assume the higher forms of land animals, are shadowed out in many a fable: where a fair nymph is represented chained to a naked rock, within sea-mark, exposed to be devoured by a huge marine monster, who had destroyed numberless nymphs of equal beauty, but who is in his turn destroyed by some bold wanderer who rescues the nymph, and thereafter makes her his willing bride. This mythos is carried out in all its parts in the well-known tale of Perseus and Andromeda. She is said to be the daughter of Cepheus; but Cepheus, in the same manner as Cephas, means only *the rock*; and Perseus, the rescuer of the abandoned maid, is one of the best-recognized representatives of the sun.

The action of the sun, in converting the rock-deposited ὕλη into vegetable forms, is again strikingly typified in the story of Phœbus and Daphne, in other words, of the sun and that portion of the earth which first emerged from the sea and became a recipient of the genial power of living water. For Δα-φνῆ means nothing else than Δα-φανῆ, *the visible earth*. The sun in his various operations is said to court this fair nymph, and the result is that under his amorous pursuit, she assumes a vegetable shape and becomes a laurel.

It would be endless to trace the various forms in which this mythos is developed; I shall, therefore, content myself with mentioning some more prosaic passages where the same truth is shadowed forth. I have ample means to prove that, in the very old religion of the civilized world, every *urbs* or *orbis* was supposed to be a microcosm of our globe, and every citadel or *ars* a central point. Hence it happens that we have the same steps recorded as taking place in the history of innume-

nable cities, and these same steps are those which we are now tracing in the progressive advance of our globe.

For example, we are told by Stephanus Byzantinus, in that invaluable treasury of ancient mythology which he has given us under the name of *Περὶ Πολέων*, that Egypt was originally called *Αεμα*, *the gaseous state*; then *Ποταμντης*, *the oceanic state*: for *ποταμος* and *ωκεανος* are, in the older language, the same. 3rd, *Ωγγυια*. But it can be proved that *ωγγυια* means *the land that first emerged from the ocean*. 4th, *έρμοχυμος*. Now, *έρμοχυμος* describes exactly the position of the *ύλη* confined on the rock; for it is composed of the word *εγμα*, *a foundation*, *a bulwark*, or *groundwork*; and *χυμος*, that form of *ύλη* out of which vegetable life is immediately formed. For in the words of an ancient scholiast upon the Platonic word *δηθθεν*, or *διυλιζειν*,—

“The whole genus of those juices that are strained through the medium of plants from the earth are called *χυμοι*.” The fifth name of Egypt was *Μελαμβυλος*, *black mould*.

But *βυλος* is the *gleba*, that mass of decayed vegetable life which covers, in a smaller or greater degree, that substratum which has been, in all ages, called the virgin earth. And even Homer measures the fertility of a country by the depth of this *βυλος*.

Now, the favourite idea of the older mythologists was, to represent our *orbis terrarum* as an island surrounded by the sea, from which it had originally emerged, and doomed again to be swallowed up by it. This idea, again, was applied to the microcosm of one city; and all Europe, Asia, and Northern Africa, were covered with traditions of lakes which brood silently over the ruins of swallowed-up towns, the prototypes of those which still flourish on their banks.

Hence a wide-spread horror of paroxysmal deluges, and a belief, if certain precautions were not taken, that destruction by water was certain to occur. We have this doctrine, and the origin of it, placed graphically before our eyes by Herodotus,

who tells us in one place, that Menes was the first human being who ruled in Egypt; and in another place favours us with the following legend:—"The priests told me that Menes, the first king of Egypt, in the first place included Memphis within mounds (*απογεφυρωσαι*); for that the whole stream flowed close to the sand-hills on the Lybian side. But that Menes, about a hundred stadii above Memphis, had mounded up the elbow to the south, and thus drained the ancient channel, and so conducted the stream that it might flow between the two hills. And to this day, this elbow of the Nile, which flows mounded off (*απεργμενικ*) is most carefully guarded by the Persians, being annually examined. For if the river, having broken down the mound, were to overflow at this point, there is danger that all Memphis would be destroyed by the deluge (*κατακλυσθηναι*). But when to this, Menes having become king, the portion mounded off had become dry ground, in the first place he built on it this city, which is now called Memphis; for Memphis is in the narrow part of Egypt; and on the outside of it he excavated a lake-bed, which was supplied with water from the river, both on the northern and western side. For the Nile itself confines its eastern side."

A traveller who has most minutely examined Egypt, and who has taken this tradition into consideration, does not hesitate, after a careful inspection of the ground upon which Memphis stood, to pronounce it a groundless fiction, and affirm that such an operation as that ascribed to Menes, was neither done *ipso facto*, nor capable of being done. Indeed, without his authority, we might easily infer that the first human king of Egypt would never have thought of dislodging the Nile from its natural bed, in order to found a city in the drained channel. The tradition communicated by the priests, evidently alluded to the system now investigated by me, which made the foundation of every city rest upon land which had emerged from the deep. Even the Phrygians themselves, whom alone the Egyptians allowed to be an older race than themselves, could

imagine a time when their hills were nothing but submarine volcanoes, as may be proved from the sibylline couplet,—

Ω Φρυγιη πρώτη αναδυση ἀφ' ὕδατος ἀκρου
Πρῶτη δ' αὖ θρεψεις γενεην ἑτερην ἀνθρώπων.—

O Phrygia, thou first will emerge from the surface of the water;
Thou who first shall nourish another race of men.

But what, then, did Herodotus mean by talking of the careful inspection of the mounds, lest Memphis should be deluged? To this my answer is, that every town was mythologically supposed to have *εφυματα*, *bulwarks*, and *γεφυραι*, *earthen mounds*, which were regarded as *ἐκτορες πλημμυδος*, *retainers of that deluge* to which every city was hypothetically liable, as resting upon land reclining upon the surface of the deep. Of this mythos, Herodotus himself saw a full representation at Buto, another city in Egypt.

“The second most wonderful thing in this city is the island called Chemmis. It is in a deep and broad lake, close to the temple at Buto. Now, the Egyptians say that it is a floating island. I myself, indeed, did not see it either float or move. But on hearing, I wondered whether the island really did float.” Then he proceeds to tell the reason why it did float. “Because Latona, who had received the infant Horus (Apollo) from Isis, there fostered it and concealed it from the searches of the destructive Typhon.” But this tradition is the same as the birth of Apollo and Diana on the floating *Δηλος*, which the grateful god afterwards made stationary. In another temple in Egypt, Herodotus saw a *λίμνη* adorned with a marble facing, and accurately rendered circular, and in size, according to his opinion, equal to that in *Δηλος*, which is called *τροχαιοῖδης*, *wheel-shaped*.

But in the territory of Re-atc, Rhea's town, in Italy, we have a perfect representation of the mythos. First, a town, *Κυτλια*, which, according to Varro, was *umbilicum terræ*, like *Delphi*, *Γης ομφαλον*. But *κυτλια* is made up of *Κυτος*, *the womb*, and *Ilia*, another name of Rhea, in the same manner as *Κυταια*,

the capital of Colchis, is made up of *Κυτ'* and *αια*, and *Κυθηρυ* of *Κυτ* and *ηρα*. These were all imaginary centres, as we have *Amsanctus*, another supposed centre of Italy. Of this *Cut-ilia* Dionysius thus speaks :—

“Cutilia, a splendid city close to a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, being four hundred feet distant. The lake is full of spring water which flows perennially. It is said to be unfathomable. The inhabitants think that there is something divine in this lake ; and fencing it on every side with garlands, to prevent any man from approaching the water, preserve it unapproachable, except when a biennial festival occurs, when they whose duty it is, having visited a little island in it, offer up certain legal sacrifices. This island is about fifty feet in diameter, and it is raised only one foot above the surface of the lake. But it is not fixed, but floats about in various directions, as the wind whirls (*δινουντος*) it at one time to one place, at another time to another place. But there grows in it a plant, *χλων*, like the *βυτομος* and some other small shrubs.”

The confinement of the sea within its bed, and its non-encroachment upon the land, especially on flat shores, was regarded as a standing miracle ; and any similar representations of the same truth upon a smaller scale, such as an island in a lake, was regarded with singular honour.

Hence Dionysius, speaking of another island among the Umbri, who were traditionally said to have fled from an inundation of the Phrygian *κηνηαι*, thus writes :—“ But there is shown a certain island, Issa by name, round which a lake flows, which men inhabit without any protection made by man, that is, without any *εφυμα*, mound, but using the shallows of the lake as walls.”

Such a city was also the Arcadian *Οοχομενος*, originally *Εεργμενος*, where the mythological Æneas is said to have founded in a place called *Νησος*, although being inland, because it is surrounded by marshes.

But there is one portion of the mythos of Cutilia which must be remarked. The lake is unfathomable : that is, it was sup-

posed to be connected with those deep caverns in mountain ridges which were particularly called the homes and shrines of the nymphs, who reserved, as it were, huge reservoirs of sweet and living waters for a perpetual supply of the urns of the sun-drained rivers. These were *speluncis lacus clausos*, which Aristæus, in his visit to his mother Κυρηνη, was allowed to visit. These lakes, Servius says, he calls the reservoirs whence rivers and fountains are fed. And this he says not from poetic license, but drawn from the Egyptian doctrines, which taught, among other things, that there was below the earth an immense body of water, which contained the seeds of all things, and whence all things were procreated.

Founded on the same doctrine was the fable told to Herodotus, that there were two fountains of the Nile on two several high-pointed hills, and that one sent a branch to the north and another to the south; that this latter was sounded by Psammetchus, who, although he constructed a cable thousands of fathoms in length, was unable to reach the bottom. It was the fear of the outbursting of this immense reservoir that formed one of the popular terrors of the ancient world, and against which the pontifices and γεφυραιοι, or *mound-makers*, were supposed to possess spells especially potent. The crust on which every town reposed was supposed to be liable to a sudden subsidence, and to allow the unfortunate city to be engulfed in the water-filled caverns; or again, some neglect on the part of the especial guardians might possibly enable the confined waters to rush forth on the principle of a syphon once set in action, and not to cease until the land was once more submerged. The mythoi in which these supposed dangers are represented are numerous; but I content myself with alluding to that inundation of which the Umbri were the survivors, and which occurred owing to the bursting of the Phrygian *νεηνας*, or *fountains*, and to a tradition recorded by the elder Pliny, that near Joppa, in Palestine, was shown the hole through which the waters which had formed the deluge, again re-entered the caverns from which they had issued forth.

As the whole knot of the system under consideration is embodied in this origin of fresh water, I must allude to another form of the mythos. Ποσει-δά-ων, the Latin Neptune (although not originally the same god), represented not only the sea as a vast magazine, whence the essences constituent of organized life might be extracted, but also of the living water itself; and of him in the latter character, the horse was the peculiar emblem. Indeed *aquus* and *aqua* were, mythologically speaking, convertible terms. Of this we have a convincing proof in the following fact. In the first *Georgic* we have an address to Neptune in the following words:—

Tuque o cui prima fremuentem
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti.

On which Servius remarks:—"The most ancient manuscripts have *fudit aquam*. In the Cornelian (one of high authority) *equum*. In the authentic, that is, Virgil's original manuscript, it was *aquam* originally, but changed to *equum* by Virgil's own hand."

We know that in general mythology, the account of the contest between Neptune and Athena, as to which should give a name to Athens, teaches that he produced a horse and she an olive-tree. But a more recondite version changes the horse into a θαλασσα. Pausanias says, "There is in this Acropolis a shrine, said to be that of the earth-born ερεχθεις, in which are both the olive-tree and the θαλασσα, which, according to the Athenian tradition, Ποσειδων and Minerva produced as evidences of their right to the country."

Nor was this confined to Athens. Pausanias, speaking of the temple of Ποσειδων ιππιος in Adria, writes:—"There is an ancient tradition that a wave of the θαλασσα appeared in this temple. The Athenians tell the same story of the Κυμα in the Ακροπολις."

The Thessalians, on the contrary, pointed out, as we are told by Servius, a very high mountain, on which this *equus* or *aqua* was first seen.

I have many things to say on this subject which at present

I prudently pass over, but may state, that the pilgrimages of ancient Greece were made to the highest point of the rocks, whence living waters descended, as these were especially the distillers of the precious *χυμοι*.

But the priests were not only pontifices, *mound-guardians*, but also potifices, *water-makers*; and they could imitate, on favourable occasions, the operations of nature. Here is the account given by Pausanias of a scene on the heights of Lycosura, a lofty peak in Arcadia, surrounded by the most striking locations of ancient mythology:—

“Of all the *πολεις* which the earth brought to light, both on the continent and in the islands, Lycosura is the oldest, and this the sun first saw. When the fields were parched with want of rain, the priest of the Lycean Jove (the Potifex of the day) went up in solemn procession to the highest point of the hill, where was the fountain *Αγνη*, the *pure spring*. The surface of the fountain he stirred with the branch of an oak; soon a vapour (*ατμος*) arose, which, soon assuming a nebulous appearance (*δμηχλη*), gradually condensed into clouds and descended into refreshing showers on the Arcadian fields.”

The next step described by Virgil is the introduction of land animals into our globe:—

Rara per ignotos errent animalia montes.

There are three things here indicated by Virgil. First, the existence of the mountains, to which he had not before alluded. Secondly, the animals were but few, *rara*. Thirdly, that they were the first that traversed them, as they were before unknown.

I might here enter upon the inquiry, whether there are any traces among the older philosophy and mythoi concerning the doctrine of the existence of a race of animals not now known on earth; but the induction would lead me into a tedious path which it is not necessary for me now to tread. I may, however, say, that I think that there are the strongest proofs to induce me to conclude that there was such knowledge or supposed knowledge.

The last scene in the progressive creation testifies to the late appearance of man on earth, which Virgil typifies by the re-creation of mankind by Deucalion and Pyrrha, after a general destruction of the race.

ON THE ARISTOTELIAN EXPRESSION,

“ΜΕΤΑ ΤΑ ΦΤΕΙΚΑ.”

It has long ago been remarked, that more people talk of Aristotle than ever read him ; and, unhappily for their own fair fame, many have accused him of faults from which he was entirely free, and have condemned him in terms which remain lasting monuments of their utter ignorance of his philosophy, and of the recklessness with which they ascribed opinions and doctrines to this mighty mind which are nowhere to be found in his writings.

The splendid edition of his works, now going on under the auspices of the University of Berlin and the able and efficient superintendence of Bekker and Brandis, proves that a revulsion has taken place in the minds of the philosophers of Germany at least, and that they have taken means, by the publication of the valuable Greek *Scholæ* on his works, to enable us to separate the dross accumulated among the cobwebs of the Latin schools from the pure produce of the Athenian mine. That the mental revolution by which the system of the schoolmen was utterly overthrown, had been rendered necessary by the tyranny which, under the name of Aristotle, they had imposed upon the human mind, cannot be denied. But it would have been as rational in the religious reformers to impute to the original writers of the New Testament, all the mummeries and follies with which the monks of Egypt and Syria, and the barbarian priesthood of Rome, had overlaid and disfigured the primitive truth, as it was for the reformers of philosophy to

ascribe to Aristotle the doctrines which were vended in his name.

But, although the great founder of the peripatetic school was thrown overboard along with the false expounders of his philosophy, yet the emanations of his mind had so wrought themselves into the whole system of mental philosophy, that it was impossible to escape his influence. Hence it came, that its whole terminology is deeply impressed with the stamp of the Aristotelian mint, and that we must have recourse to him, if we wish to trace back to their source many of those words which are at present as "familiar in our mouths as household terms," and to which, nevertheless, every individual among us ascribes, if not a different, at least an uncertain meaning. Among these the word *Metaphysics* holds a prominent place; and to its etymology, and the light thence to be derived, I propose briefly to call the attention of the Society.

It is well known to most of the members that this name is supposed in general to be derived from the place occupied by Aristotle's treatise on the subject which afterwards bore this name, and which treatise closed one cycle of his published works, being immediately preceded by certain treatises on *Physics*: hence, that its position, *μετα τα φυσικα* (after his physical essay) gave first its name to the treatise itself, secondly, to the subject of which it treated. As I have every reason to believe that the name was not the result of this chance position, but that it is strictly scientific in its origin, I shall, without further preface, enter upon the proof.

Knowledge, regarded as knowledge alone, and not in connection with the practical duties of man, or with the instrumental and imitative arts, is beautifully arranged by the Greek philosophers under the following three heads:—1st, *τα φυσικα*; 2nd, *τα μαθηματα*; 3rd, *τα μετα τα φυσικα*; and, in order to see what is comprehended under each division, I shall produce some notices from Aristotle and his scholiasts.

At the commencement of his second book, *Περὶ Φυσικῆς Αἰσθητικῆς*, best translated *Lectures Preparatory to the Study*

of *Physics*, he defines the objects which come within the range of the φυσικός, as being τα οντα φυσει, things existing by what he terms φυσικ, of which word we may fix the meaning from the following quotation :—"Of all existents some exist φυσει, others owing to other causes. By φυσικ, exist animals and their component parts, and vegetables and simple bodies similar to earth, fire, water, air; for we say that these things and things like them exist φυσει." Hence, in our terms, the φυσικός takes cognizance of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and of the perceptible bodies from which both these and organized existences are composed. I say the perceptible bodies, because πρώτη ύλη, the primary matter which was held to be at the root of all φαινόμενα, was not within the reach of the φυσικός, who, in another portion of the same book, is described as being conversant with γενητα and αισθητα alone; that is, objects produced and reproduced and cognizable by the senses. Hence it is difficult to say whether the *quinta essentia* or αιθερ, a fluid described by him as diffused through space, and as being denser than fire but more subtle than air, came properly within the range of the φυσικός.

In order to explain the difference, according to Aristotle, between the τα φυσικα and the τα μαθηματα, it will be sufficient to quote the following passages :—

"But in the next place (that is, after the definition of φυσικ) we must consider in what respect the δ μαθηματικος differs του Φυσικου (the mathematician from the physician). For physical bodies have surfaces and solidity and length and points which are the mathematician's study. We must also examine whether astronomy is different from or only a part της Φυσικης; for if the δ Φυσικος is required to know what the sun or the moon is, it is absurd to say that he ought not to inquire into any of their accidents individually, especially since those who write concerning Φυσικ, confessedly treat of the figure of the sun and moon, and whether the earth and the universe be spheres or not. The mathematician, however, treats of these subjects also, but not as if their figure was the outline (or

bound) of a physical body, nor does he examine its properties, as far as they are the properties of such bodies. He, therefore, separates them (for by the *intellect*, νοησει, they are separable from κινήσις, motion, that is, from bodies subject to production and reproduction), and it makes no difference, nor does any error arise from the separation."

"Those who hold the doctrines of ideas (that is, pre-existent forms in the mind of the Deity, according to which all individuals of a species or genus are to a certain extent moulded) unconsciously perform the same abstraction; for they separate τα Φυσικά, being less separable than τα μαθηματά. This will be evident, if we try the definitions both of their substances and accidents; for the equal and the unequal, the strait and the curve, and number also, and line and figure, will still be without κινήσις, but flesh, bone, and man, without it, will disappear.

"And those of the μαθηματά which are Φυσικώτερα, as οπτική, ἀριθμητική, and αστρονομία, make this plain, as they have certain references to geometry. But geometry treats of γραμμὴ φυσική (a line physically), but not as far as it is φυσική; but οπτική treats of the mathematical line, but not as far as it is μαθηματική, but as far as it is φυσική."

Having thus seen Aristotle's own definition of φύσις and μαθηματά, and the distinction drawn by himself between the two, it remains for us to examine his account of the subject of the books inscribed Μετα τα Φυσικά.

"It is manifest," says he, "that physical science is not practical nor effective, but theoretical. It is conversant with those objects which have a principle of motion in themselves. Mathematical science, likewise, is theoretical and conversant with permanents, but not in reality separable. But there is another science different from these two, conversant with that which is really separable and immovable. If there be any such φύσις among τα ὄντα, and I am going to prove that there is, in it will be 'the divine,' and it will be the *first* and most absolute principle. It is, therefore, clear that the theoretical sciences are three in genus—physical, mathematical, and theological. But

of the sciences, the theoretical are highest in genus, and of them the last-mentioned is the highest, as it is conversant with the most precious of beings. But higher and lower are predicated of every science according to its proper subject. But it might be doubted whether we ought to range the science of being, as far as it is being, among the universals or not; for each department of mathematical science is conversant with one distinct genus, but mathematical science, as an universal, concerning all.

"If, then, physical substances are primary existents, physical science will likewise be the first of sciences; but if there is another *φύσις* and substance separable and immovable, the science of it must also necessarily be different and prior in rank to the physical and universal, owing to such priority."

Hence we see that his own term for the subject was *θεολογία*, at other times *σοφία*, at others *ἡ πρώτη σοφία*, but the actual expression *Μετα τα Φυσικά* is never used by him. Equivalent terms are, however, used; for, as he says that the *φύσις* of the *φυσικόν* must have matter mixed with it, or, rather, be itself a material form cognizable by some sense, it follows that the sensible and the physical are with him equivalent terms. Early in the inquiry he, therefore, states that, as it was to investigate *τα οὐτα*, it was requisite to determine "whether sensibles alone were substances, or there were other substances, *παρα τας αἰσθητας*, beyond the sensible." Alexander the Aphrodisiann's scholion on this subject is almost a repetition of the same words:—

"By these words he means that it is necessary to inquire whether sensibles alone are substances, or whether there are others also, *παρα ταυτας*; for even this is not self-evident or undisputed."

As the expression *παρα τα αἰσθητα* and *μετα τα φυσικά* are equivalent in power and very similar in form, we may take it for granted that there was a better reason than its chance position, why this famous treatise obtained its peculiar name. And that this reason was handed down in the traditions of the

Peripatetic school, is evident from the following scholion, recorded by Asclepiades as taken by him from the *viva-voce* explanations of the celebrated Ammonius:—"At the commencement of the present treatise we ought to explain the object, order, and cause of the title. The object is Theology, for Aristotle theologizes in it. Its order or place in the whole work is this, because we draw our principles from sources *posterior to them in time*, since those sources are more known to us. On this account, therefore, Aristotle previously explained Physics to us; for physics, although *posterior*, φύσει, are *to us prior*. But the present subject being *prior in nature*, inasmuch as it is τελειον, *perfect*, is *to us posterior*; for the incorruptible is prior to the corruptible, the not-generated to the generated."

I might quote other scholia to the same purpose, but this of itself is sufficient to show that it was a tradition of the schools that the book was thus inscribed, because a knowledge of its subject, although προτερα φύσει, was ὑστερα ἡμιν: in other words, that a perception of the φαινόμενα must, in the order of human knowledge, *preclude the active state of that power* by which we are enabled to regard them as phenomena, *look through and beyond them*, and discover those principles, both internal and external to us, which alone, among the ever-changing forms of sensibles, can be held to be realities. Such are the objects of Aristotle's treatise entitled Τα μετα τα Φυσικά.

But for the further illustration of the subject, a few remarks are necessary. In the study of physics we must have continual recourse to observation, and have nothing more to do than, after ascertaining the sensible qualities of individuals, to arrange them in the great frame-work of kingdoms, orders, genera, and species. When this great cabinet has been scientifically formed, and the relative position of the different compartments strictly ascertained and accurately defined, the great medium for communicating the necessary knowledge is an adequate nomenclature.

Among the mythi of the Greeks, none is more striking than that by which Pan (as far as all things are cognizable by sense)

is made the son of *Hermes*, and the brother of *Aoyos*. The interpreter, or word-mover, *Hermes*, calls things into scientific existence, and stamps them with a name. In an Eutopian language, every such name ought to express both the genus and difference of every species, and would facilitate, beyond expression, the acquisition of physical knowledge. But it is not a necessary requisite. As long as the object to be specified is a *τοδὲ τι* (the Aristotelian expression indicating a sensible object, and which, if literally translated, would give us the vulgar phrase, "this here thing"), it matters not essentially what it is called, whether a bull be called stone, or a stone, bird. The only requisite is, that the name (whatever it be) should, in the mind, be attached to the object.

But in passing from *φύσις* to *τα μετὰ τὰ φύσις*, we come to *μαθηματά*, occupying, as it were, a middle position between the two. In the words of Alexander the Aphrodisian, "For those who hold the doctrine of pre-existent eternal forms, believe in mathematical entities also, not homogeneous with the former, nor with sensible substances, but *placed between them both*."

With respect to mathematical points, lines, and diagrams, the teacher cannot say *τοδὲ τι ἐστίν*, *here is a something*; but can only say, "here is *a representative of something*, of which something I will give you *a definition*, by the help of which, and of the sensible representative, you may conceive a perfect idea of the form which I wish you intellectually to contemplate."

For, as Aristotle says, "*sensible lines* are not the same as those with which the mathematician is conversant, for nothing sensible is straight nor a perfect circle;" for "the circle does not touch the tangent line at a point," as *Πρωταγόρας* said, in his attempt to refute the certainty of mathematical truths. But, although this be the case, yet it matters not what you call the diagram, provided the definition be correct and the sensible representative something like an adumbration, whether a circle be called a square or a square a triangle. Yet it ought to be remembered that, in the Greek language, every mathematical term is confessedly on the plan of an Eutopian language, and is

what Democritus said every word ought to be, *σκια εργου*, the adumbration of the reality.

But without entering into the question, whether the pure mathematics are or not essentially metaphysical, I can safely state, that Aristotle does not attempt to disprove the assertion of Plato and the Pythagoreans, that their elementary forms of *αριθμοι*, comprehending *μαθηματα* (as well as *numbers*) are *τα οντα*, as far as *numbers* alone are concerned. His objections are all directed against the eternal and absolute forms of the point, the line, the square, circle, triangle, &c. And his commentators seem aware of this, for Asclepiades says, "This science (metaphysics) is the first and highest, but cognate with it are the others; but some nearer, others further removed in degree. The *theoretic science of numbers*, for example, approaches more closely to the *first philosophy* than geometry, while geometry is nearer than the theoretic science of harmony."

Indeed, whoever has deeply thought upon the nature of numbers, especially the one, two, and three, must have an intellect acute, trenchant, and subtle as Aristotle's own, to enable him to see the line which separates *their theoretical science* from metaphysics; nor are there any physical representatives of numbers like those of the mathematical line, circle, or square, by which our conception of the real nature of the *one* (the *το ειναι*), and the relations thence generated, can be aided.

I can easily conceive their forms as pre-existent *νοητα* in the Deity, of which our minds become, through the dianoetic process, cognizant with a certainty, purity, and truth, totally *independent of materiality*; and that the theory of numbers is conversant with a venerable order of things, *prior indeed to sensibles*, but *posterior to the intellectual forms* which are the proper subject of the Aristotelian treatise.

As long as we confine our speculations on our own soul and its operations, on God and spiritual beings, and on the universal order of things, stripped of matter and its accidents, to our own thoughts, there is a freedom, a power, and a capacity, for mental flight, which is almost boundless. But when we

come to embody these thoughts in words, and to communicate them to others, the difficulties become great and serious. Of the soul, for example, we can have no sensual conception. There is no *τοδε τι* which can, like a physical object, be subjected to inspection ; nor is there any diagram or figure conceivable, which, as in the case of the *μαθηματα*, the mind, combining it with the definition in words, can be aided in depicting the real object proposed. Hence, if one attempts to give the soul or any of its operations a name, he must either use one bearing no note or mark, and hence unintelligible, or he must adumbrate his internal consciousness by a word already known as the representative of some physical phenomena. Any attempt even to define it in words must fail, if it go beyond the simple enunciation of its existence, as it can be described only negatively ; and no *system of exhaustion can from accumulated negatives evolve a single positive*. For example, we may say that the soul is either one sense, or an union of them all, or *something else*. Even its operations partake of the same nature, and the words descriptive of them must have originally been metaphorical. For example, when we say that we will deliberate on any proposal made to us, etymologically speaking, we say, that we *will weigh in a balance* the respective advantages and disadvantages before we decide. But in physics, before we can perform this process, we must have a lever, a *counterpoise*, a hook or scales, *the object to be weighed*, and a person or thing to support the whole. But in the mind we have only *one* to fulfil all these duties, and hence we see how very different the two processes must be, and that by the word we only convey the idea that we are going to perform a mental operation, of which the best physical picture is that of a man ascertaining with a pair of scales the comparative weight of different substances. Yet, while I use this metaphor in order to communicate my idea to another, I am conscious that my mental operation is not a weighing of different substances, but something which I can perfectly understand by reflection, although it would be in vain to attempt to convey a

knowledge of it to another except by *physical analogies*, which will guide him to call up the same mental ideas of which I am conscious.

If this physical analogy be wanting, the metaphysical words may do well enough for the intercourse of common life, for indicating the passions and coarser operations of the mind, but will prove totally inefficient for the purpose of philosophy, and utterly inadequate for the construction of a system calculated to represent the *wonderful capabilities and, as yet, unreachèd powers* of the human mind. In such a state we are in continual danger of attempting to demonstrate the obscure by the unknown: a circumstance which, according to Aristotle, often occurs. "For," says he, "a man, blind from his birth, will often syllogize rightly concerning colours. But yet his whole reasoning will be conversant with words alone, as he cannot be brought to *know (voen)* anything concerning them."

If this be true, and I have satisfied myself of its truth by an examination coextensive with four languages, it will account for the *degeneracy of language by long use*, owing to the supposed improvement of ignorant men, who have always regarded metaphorical language as an evil, fit only for the poet; whereas, on the contrary, *metaphors are the only form of words by which one mind can call upon another* to create corresponding forms, processes, and conclusions. As no metaphysician of modern times has either seen or, at least, taken this leading principle as his guide through the labyrinthine windings of spiritual operations and spiritual existences, it must be clear that a great field is open for the first philosopher who, setting out on perceptible principles, will construct a system in words which, when carefully studied by another, will enable the latter clearly to depict to himself intellectually, all that the former wished to communicate; in other words, *he must invent an adequate terminology*: a task which requires great knowledge of the subject, great logical and philological precision, and a subtilty of intellect which will enable him to ascertain and define the most delicate of the processes which must be investigated. *Until this be*

done, words may be multiplied, systems may rise and fall, but modern metaphysics must remain what they have hitherto been, the *magnum opprobrium* of regenerated civilization.

I might here close, were I not impressed with a conviction, expressed two years ago, that in some ancient languages we have an instrument, both logical and philological, constructed on the principles of an Utopian terminology, and which may be reduced to a few intelligible keys or roots. We know from the *Cratylus* of Plato, that the Pythagorean school held the same doctrine, and taught that the word, as a general principle, was a picture of the idea to be represented; and even Aristotle himself, when taking advantage of the fineness of the instrument, repeatedly hints that he does not know how to *account for the scientific accuracy of a common word, without supposing it to be an inheritance handed down through periods of darkness and barbarism, from an antecedent period, when the arts and sciences had been in a flourishing state.* In the eighth chapter of the twelfth book of *Metaphysics*, when he, according to his creed, had reduced the *τα οντα* to the moving essences of the planetary bodies and of the circumscribing firmament, of the *primum mobile*, and to the union of these in the immovable one, he thus proceeds:—"But it has been handed down from those of old, and from the very ancient bequeathed to posterity in the form of a mythos, that these are gods (or movers), and that the Divinity embraces the whole system. But the rest has been added mythologically, for the persuasion of the multitude and for the support of the laws and public advantage; for they say that they are man-shaped and similar to other living beings, and they introduced other descriptions consequent upon and similar to the above. But were any one to separate these additions, and take the first assertion alone, that they regarded the primary substances as gods, it would be a godlike tenet."

"And it is probable, that as every individual art and philosophy has been repeatedly discovered as far as possible, and

has again perished, these opinions also have been preserved as remnants of such knowledge."

Thus, also, is his book *Περὶ Ουρανοῦ*, when speaking of the essence of ether, a subtle fluid diffused through space, he adds:—"But even the name appears to have been handed down to the present age from those of old who held on the subject the same opinion as I do; for not once or twice, but an infinite number of times, ought we to think that *the same knowledge has reached mankind*. Wherefore, as if primary matter was something different from earth, fire, air, and water, they named it *αἰθήρ*, giving it this name from *αἰεῖ θείν*, from its eternal circular motion in the uppermost region."

I ought to explain that the *παλαιοὶ* or *αρχαῖοι* of Aristotle, *those of old*, are invariably the philosophers from Thales to Democritus and Empedocles—men who preceded him from two to three centuries, during which the science of mental, mathematical, and natural philosophy had been much cultivated in Greece. That the *οἱ παμπάλαιοι*, *the very old*, were Homer, Hesiod, and other *θεολογοὶ*, between whom and the age of Thales there existed a gulf of impervious darkness, across which nothing had floated but the works of these *παμπάλαιοι* and *μυθοὶ* and mysteries, the keys to most of which had been lost, or, at least, are not to be found in the works of any Greek or Roman writers now extant.

As I feel it is presumptuous in me to say that I have partially found these keys—that secrets never suspected by abler men and profounder scholars have been discovered by me alone—that the very assumption of the possibility of such a discovery is offensive to the limited and self-satisfied scholar, and an object of suspicion to the most candid and judicious—I can only allege in my defence that I have been neither rash nor hasty, and *that nothing but the knowledge that the path on which I am treading must eventually, although perhaps after many deviations, lead to the demonstrable truth*, could induce me to submit to the toils and difficulties of such an investigation.

The commencement of the path was similar to that of the Virgilian Æneas in his descent to the regions of the unknown world :—

Quale per *incertam* Lunam, sub luce *maligna*
Est iter in sylvis ubi coelum Jupiter *umbra*
Condidit et rebus *nox* abstulit *atra* colorem.

But the light has increased as I have gone on, and truths are now plain to me which, two years ago, were full of doubts and difficulties. Yet in my proof I must bespeak the good will and forbearance of my judges ; for they must approach the consideration of such a subject with their judgment clouded by prejudices in its primary and not offensive meaning, and almost blocked up by foregone conclusions. In Aristotle's own words, previous to entering on a consideration of his metaphysical disquisitions:—"Men listen to proofs according to previous habit. *For we wish to hear men speak in accordance with our usual opinions, and anything contrary to these does not appear consistent, but, from want of habit on our part, more strange and unknown.* But what strength habit has, is seen in our laws and institutions, where things fabulous and childish have, through habit, greater power than a true knowledge of the principles on which they are founded. Some, therefore, will not attend to a speaker *except he speaks mathematically* ; others, except he illustrates his case by examples ; others require the authority of some known poet. Again, some require precision in all points ; on the other hand, extreme precision is offensive to others, because they cannot follow it, or because it descends to minutiae trifling in amount. Extreme precision has something of this effect. Hence, as in contracts, so in discussion, an attention to trifling minutiae appears ungentlemanly." The difficulties which thus beset the path of every person who presumes to suppose that he knows some things in direct opposition to men's habitual opinions on the subject, are doubled by the popular disfavour into which etymological investigations had fallen during the last century, and from which, in this country at least, it can as yet be scarcely said to have emerged.

In the words of one of the ablest, if not the ablest, critical philologers of the day, "We have been careful to write thus much at length, in order to meet, on more than one ground, the objection of many able and patient scholars to all the *novelties* of the past which the present age is bringing to light. Men, too, who have laboriously investigated one particular branch of study, cannot generally be supposed to possess any inclination to undervalue it, or turn to researches tending to this end. *But since all the learning that has been expended in the research, has failed to penetrate into the real sources of antiquity*, may we not reasonably entertain a doubt, *that the process hitherto employed has been somewhere defective?*—that the authorities we have taken for our guides, though often undoubtedly a light in utter darkness, are also, too often, a pillar of cloud when we are able to see a wider horizon. *The ancients may have told us all they knew, but were the ANCIENTS acquainted with antiquity?* There is a fallacy in the terms, but we might often with justice answer in the negative. *If the Greek or the Brahmin drew existence from a stone, a creation from a flower, are we to contract our inquiries accordingly, and this, too, when their aboriginal nationality is more than questionable, and the Hebrew Scriptures, if no other authenticated record, supply evidence of older races in other and more probable countries?"*

It is in the face of such *prima facie* difficulties that I venture to state to the Society, that the Ἀρχαίοι and Παλαιοί of Aristotle knew no more than Aristotle himself of the principles on which the language of the Παιμπαλαιοί was constructed. In the words of the same high authority, "As far as I am concerned, the ridicule that has so idly and ignorantly followed philological derivations may still continue its career, without deterring, as it has too often, the best-qualified judges from proceeding in the path of discovery thus laid open to them."

SELECTION
FROM CERTAIN
ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS,

WRITTEN BY THE
ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN,

To maintain, in opposition to the Arguments advanced by the Honourable ALGERNON HERBERT, in his work called "Cyclops Christianus," the conclusion of those Antiquarians who affirmed that Stonehenge and its Hierarchal Establishments were far older than the Christian Era, and early known to the Inhabitants of that Country which was afterwards called Hellas.

I AM so certain that I hold the truth upon this question, that I am quite ready to peril my reputation as a scholar and an archæologian upon the final result of this discussion, and deservedly to merit those calumnies which Mr. Herbert so copiously heaps upon our most respected Celtic scholars, and upon every Saxon also who has dared to think for himself upon this question. The gentleman is so calumnious in his charges, so full of suggestions of fraud, vileness, and forgery, on every author who advances any statement adverse to his own theories, that I am absolutely compelled to quote all my authorities at full length. The translations are my own, and if I entertain any doubt respecting any word or passage, I do not attempt to render it into English, but pass it over, indicating, however, by asterisks, that there is a hiatus.

Now to the question.

Early in the sixth century before the Christian era, was born Hecætæus the Milesian, a man of great learning, and the

author of many works, of which nothing but fragments has reached us. He took an active part in the revolt of the Ionians from King Darius, about A.C. 500, and was thoroughly cognizant of all the proceedings connected with the commercial enterprise of the Ionians in the earlier part of the sixth century B.C.

The Phocæans, one of the Ionian states, had, in spite of the jealousy of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, forced their way in war-galleys to Tartessus and Southern Spain, and established a commerce with the flourishing communities in that vicinity, which had proved a great source of wealth to them, both generally and individually. Arganthonius, a King of Southern Spain, was an especial friend of the Phocæans, and offered them, as a community, an asylum in his dominions, when the Ionian states were becoming alarmed by the increasing predominance of the Persians, a Scythian race, under their great king, Cyrus.

The Phocæans refused the offer, but accepted gold, with which they fortified in vain their continental city.

It is clear from this statement that, whatever Arganthonius, the long-lived King of Tartessus, knew, was also known to the Phocæans; and a man of the inquisitive spirit of Hecataeus, who was a great traveller, and visited, among other regions, Egypt, must have known what the Phocæan merchants knew.

Here follows the famous quotation from one of his works, quoted by Diodorus Siculus, who flourished a short time after our Saviour's birth. It is in the second book of his mythological work:—"Now, after describing the parts of Asia lying northward, we think it not inappropriate to narrate the mythological stories concerning the Hyperboreans. Now, Hecataeus, and some other authors of ancient mythology, say that in the regions over against 'Celtica,' there is in the ocean an island, not smaller than Sicily; that this island is situated below the constellation of the Bears, and that it is inhabited by men called Hyperboreans, because they are placed beyond the blast of Boreas. They add, that the land, being fertile and producing everything necessary, and enjoying a fine temperature,

bears two crops in the year. Now, they mythologically state that Latona was born there, and that, on that account, Apollo is honoured by them above all other gods; that among them there are some men priests, as it were of Apollo, and that, consequently, he is daily and continuously hymned by them with lyric songs, and exceedingly honoured; that there is also in the island both a consecrated precinct of great magnificence, and a temple of corresponding beauty, adorned with numerous dedicated gifts, and in shape spherical; that there is also a city sacred to the god, and that the majority of its inhabitants are harpers, and that these, continuously harping in the temple, sing, lyrically, hymns to the god, and greatly magnify his deeds. They also state that the Hyperboreans have a peculiar dialect, and are very kindly disposed to the Hellenes, and especially to the Athenians and Delians, and that they have inherited this friendly feeling from ancient times. They also say that some of the Hellenes have passed over to the Hyperboreans, and have left there precious dedicated gifts, bearing Hellenic inscriptions; that in the same manner Abaris, in a former age, had passed into Hellas, and renewed with the Delians the bond of friendship and consanguinity. They also say that the moon from this island appears to be not far distant from the earth, and clearly shows certain earthly eminences. It is also said that every nineteenth year the god descends into this island. Now, every nineteenth year certain returns of the stars to fixed positions take place, and on this account a period of nineteen years is called by the Hellenes the great year; that when the god makes his periodical appearance, he both plays the harp and dances during the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, taking great delight in his own successful efforts."

"They also say that a family called Boreadæ, descendants of Boreas, are the kings of this city and superintendents of the temple, and regularly succeed each other by birthright."

Now, if Hecataeus derived his information on this important subject from the Phocæan merchants, who frequented the court

of Arganthonius, it is evident that these Hyperboreans were the occupants of Great Britain, which is so accurately described in the above passage, that even one of the earliest editors of Diodorus could not refrain in his index from writing—"See whether this cannot be applied to Anglia." The south of Britain, when visited by sailors, scorched by the summer heat of Southern Spain and Western Lusitania, would certainly be a delightful temperature, and any person who has spent a vernal or autumnal season in Kent, in the Isle of Wight, or in South Devonshire, cannot imagine a more delightful climate; and if we add that there is in Britain what there is not in Southern Europe, two seasons of vegetation—in fact, two springs in trees, shrubs, and grasses—we may acknowledge the truth of the description without supposing that the delighted sailors had recourse to Virgil's well-known exaggeration respecting his beloved Italy:—

Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis fertilis arbor.

As for the variety of its productions, we have Cæsar's authority that our island produced all that the continent did, with the exception of wine and olive-oil.

But we have other, and I must say more important, testimonies, as tending to prove the universality, within certain limits, and at a certain period, of the religion connected with megalithic structures, and of its prevalence in Eastern Asia, Western Europe, and the intermediate regions.

Pindar, the great lyric and religious poet, who was born, according to some, B.C. 560, according to others 540, writes thus, *Ol. ode iii. verse 12*, respecting the Cotinus, Oleaster, or wild olive-tree, from the twigs of which the wreaths worn by the victors in the Olympic games were woven:—" (This olive), the son of Amphictyon, transported from the shady fountains of the Ister, that it might become an illustrious badge of the Olympic games, after he had persuaded the community of the Hyperboreans, a people who are ministers of Apollo." "His spirit led him to the Istrian land." "In pursuit (of the

Heraclea, on the southern shores of the Euxine, or on the Tarentine Gulf. If he was an inhabitant of the Italiot Heraclea, his testimony is doubly valuable. The words are to be found in the *old* Scholiast—a highly valued authority—upon the third Olympic Ode of Pindar, v. 28.

Pherenicus says the Hyperboreans were of the Titanic race. He thus writes :—

“Around the Hyperboreans, who inhabit the extremities under the protection of the Temple of Apollo, where they are free from war. Now, their priests sing that they have sprung from the blood of the Titans, prior in time, and dwell under the sky-clear house of Boreas.”

This distinct allusion to the great temple is peculiarly valuable.

Hitherto my course has been rather easy, and the authorities naturally lead us to look for the Hyperboreans in a country abounding with olives, laurels, and asses ; and for the island of Hecataeus in the ocean off the coast of “Celtica.” But after this period a new element entered into the description, which has been productive of sad confusion. The author of this confusion was Herodotus, a man who deserves and justly has won the approbation of every inquirer into the history of mankind, and the loss of whose works would have been an *irreparable damnum* to the archæological student.

But still Herodotus, with all his merits, was a victim to those failings which are now called “crotchets.” Among the most prominent of those was a marked hatred of poetical mythology, a great distrust of all writers who had preceded him either as poets or prose writers, and a firm conviction that, were he on any disputed fact to procure the testimony of one eyewitness, it was sufficient to outweigh all that poets might imagine, or mythologists enigmatically suggest. It is with these prejudices strongly influencing his mind, that he entered on the question of the locality of the Hyperboreans, who never were supposed by preceding writers to have been a separate nation like the Thracians, Scythians, Celtæ, &c.,

but merely to have been so denominated from their position in the line of "climates." I first quote the following passage from the thirty-second chapter of his fourth book :—

"But some things have been said by Hesiod about the Hyperboreans, and something also by Homer in the *Epigoni*, that is, if Homer is truly the author of that poem."

The portion of Hesiod's work in which the Hyperboreans were mentioned, and also the great epic of the *Epigoni*, have perished ; but the very fact that the word was used by Hesiod and the author of the *Epigoni*, enables us to test its meaning by comparing it with similar compound adjectives in the still surviving Homeric writings ; and I can boldly appeal to every Homeric scholar, who may choose to examine this question by the light of Seber's Index, that almost without an exception the adjectives compounded with the preposition ὑπερ gain nothing but intensity by this prefix. But Herodotus chose to assign a new value to the compound adjective, and to assume that "Hyperboreans" meant "people beyond the blasts of Boreas," and not "a very northerly people." Reasoning on this new principle, he directs his whole argument to prove that there were no such things *in rerum natura* as the Hyperboreans described in the Arimasian hexameters of one Aristæas, a Proconnesian, who, in rather a fabulous style, had described his travels to the north of the Euxine, where he had thus graduated the nations from the south to the north,—first, the Cimmerians on the Euxine ; next, the Scythians ; next, the Issedones ; and lastly, the Hyperboreans. It is against this theory of the Proconnesian, who, according to Herodotus, must have been coeval with Hesiod, if not with Homer, that the Father of History directs his wrath, and proves satisfactorily from his own inquiries, among both the Scythian occupants of the northern shores of the Euxine and the Mæotic Lake, and from the numerous Greek colonists in the same regions, that there could not be to the north of these well-informed people, any race of men which could be possibly mistaken for the Hyperboreans of the Arimasian poet.

Having thus settled the question to his own satisfaction, he utterly throws aside the evidence of men far higher than himself in the scale of intellect and genius, and does not condescend to allude even to the opinions of Pindar, Æschylus, and Simonides, first-rate men, or even of Hellanicus and Hecætæus, his own immediate predecessors in the path of history in prose.

Nay, it is worth observing, that this matter-of-fact man seems to have looked down with utter disdain upon men like Simonides, Æschylus, and Pindar. He mentions a two-line epigram of the first, blames the second for stealing an Egyptian myth, and quotes with approbation a very doubtful moral maxim of the third; and that is all from him of these three great men.

This is a digression, but a very necessary one, for almost all the confusion upon this question has arisen from the almost wilful incredulity of Herodotus. Eratosthenes blamed him severely for denying the existence of the Hyperboreans; but as we have his criticism only in a very obscure state, in the Second Book of Strabo, cap. 3, who seems inclined to defend Herodotus, it is difficult to say anything positive on the question. Strabo, however, adds, "If it is right to blame Herodotus in any respect, it is in this respect, because he supposed that those men were called Hyperboreans, in whose country Boreas blows not. For, even granting that the poets thus speak too mythically, their interpreters, at least, say that the Hyperboreans are the most northerly."

If, however, we examine the account given by Herodotus himself, we may, perhaps, discover some other source of his error other than a mere etymological mistake. Lib. iv. cap. 32, he thus writes:—

"But the Delians, forsooth, say much more about the Hyperboreans, as they say that sacred gifts, bound up in wheaten straw, are regularly conveyed to the Scythians, and that the neighbours of these, receiving them in succession, convey them to the Hadriatic, the furthest station from the West; that

thence, being conveyed southward, they are escorted until the Dodonaean, first of Hellenes, receive them; that from them they descend to the Malæan Gulf, and cross over into Euboea; and then that city sends them to another city until they reach Carystus. But the Carystians, passing by Andros, convey them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. That in earlier times the Hyperboreans sent two virgins to bear the sacred offerings. These the Delians name Hyperochè and Laodicè; and that as an escort they sent with them five of their citizens, whom they now call Perpherees, who have great honours at Delos; but that when the men thus sent forth never returned back, the Hyperboreans, regarding it as a great evil that it should always be their lot never to receive back the men deputed, conveyed on this account the sacred gifts, bound in wheaten straw, to their next neighbours, with injunctions to escort them from their own to another nation, and they say that the offerings, thus escorted, reached Delos."

Surely, if Herodotus had combined the statement of Pindar, that there were a Hyperborean people at the sources of the Danube, with the Delian report, that the course of the sacred offerings had been from the West to the Adriatic, he might have come to a sounder conclusion than he did, and needed not have regarded the whole affair as a non-reality. His own inquiries among the Scythian tribes to the north of the Euxine, and among the numerous Greek colonies in that vicinity, satisfied him that there were no such people in the Arctic portions either of Asia or Europe. But it seems never to have occurred to him that his inquiries were in the wrong quarter. He consequently states, lib. iv. cap. 32, "But respecting the Hyperborean people, neither the Scythians say anything, nor any others of those who dwell in their vicinity, except, forsooth, the Issedones [upon the report of Aristæas]. But, according to my own opinion, even they say nothing; for otherwise the Scythians would have spoken of them, as they do respecting the one-eyed men." He insinuates very plainly that the reports concerning them were to be classed with the myths

of the Gorgons, the Dragons of the Hesperides, and other such figments.

But his ignorance respecting the west of Europe was extreme, an ignorance for which it is most difficult to account, except upon the principle that amidst the enormous false statements of the mercantile community, and the mythological fables of priests and poets, he would not believe a single statement except it was confirmed to him upon the testimony of some respectable eyewitness.

Listen to his own confession upon the subject, lib. iii. cap. 115 :—" Now, concerning the western extremities of Europe, I have no accurate account to give ; for I neither admit that a river is called by the Barbarians ' Eridanus,' and empties itself into the sea that faces the north wind, from which, report says, ' Electrum' comes to us; nor do I know that the Cassiterides, from which Tin does come to us, are islands ; for, in the first place, the very name Eridanus proves that it is a Hellenic and not a Barbarian word, and that it was invented by some poet ; and, in the second place, I cannot hear from any eyewitness, although I have anxiously inquired, that the parts on that side of Europe are a sea. It is, however, true that both ' Electrum' and ' Cassiterum' come to us from that extremity of Europe."

I have merely to observe on this passage, that there was a great river, probably the Vistula, falling into the North Sea, whence Amber came ; and that there were islands off the coast of Western Europe, whence Tin came ; and that their real existence could not be ignored merely because their names were supposed by Herodotus to have been purely Hellenic ; and because he could not find any autoptic testimonies on this subject. But more hereafter.

Again, it is very difficult to comprehend the Herodotean view of the course of the river Ister. Here is one of his descriptions, lib. ii. cap. 53: " The river Ister, having commenced its course from the Celtæ and the city of Pyrene, divides Europe into two equal parts. Now, the Celtæ dwell on the

outside of the Heracleean Pillars, and have common boundaries with the Cynesii, who dwell furthest to the west, of those who live in Europe." He then proceeds to make a statement which, if explained literally, would naturally lead to the supposition that the Ister entered the Euxine at a meridian line, passing from south to north from the mouth of the Nile through mountainous Cilicia to Sinope.

If such was his idea of the course of the Ister, his authority upon the real geography of Western Europe must be utterly disregarded.

Again, lib. iv. cap. 40, he thus writes—"For the Ister flows through the whole of Europe, having commenced from the Celtæ, who, furthest of those in Europe after the Cynetæ, dwell to the setting sun,"—"and flowing through the whole of Europe, it enters the flanks of Scythia."

We know that there was a sea to the West of Europe. He knew that the Celtæ were the westernmost inhabitants of Europe. We hear from Hecataeus, that in that ocean sea, off the coast of Celtica, beyond the Heracleean Pillars, in a northern direction, was an island not less than the greatest in the Mediterranean Sea, which cannot be predicated of any other island than Great Britain.

The later Greek authors of any note, with one exception, seem to have all adopted either the theory of Herodotus, that there really did not exist a nation of Hyperboreans, or that, if they did exist, they were to be found under the north pole, with a six months' summer of one day, and a six months' winter of one night; and this theory, as Gesner states, was with one mouth adopted by the Latin writers, who assigned all the piety, happiness, and prosperity of the Hyperboreans of history to an Utopia within the arctic circle.

No less an authority than Sophocles seems to have taken the lead in this direction, for in a fragment of his *Orithyia* he says that the Attic maiden was carried by Boreas,

Both over the whole sea to the earth's extremities,
Beyond the springs of night and the unfoldings of heaven,
To the ancient garden of Apollo.

But even Herodotus himself was obliged to confess, that the notice of the Hyperboreans was immediately connected with the earliest traditions of ancient mythologists respecting the establishment of the Apollinarian worship in Greece. Here are his words, lib. iv. cap. 35 :—

“The Delians also say that both Arge and Opis, being virgins from the Hyperboreans, * * * came to Delos long before Hyperochè and Laodicè; that the latter came to bear to Ilithyia the tribute imposed for quick childbirth. But that Arge and Opis had come with the deities themselves, and that other honours were paid to them by the Delians; that their matrons in assemblies invoked their names in a hymn composed for them by Olen a Lycian; and that both the islanders and the Ionians had learned from them to invoke in their sacred assemblies the names of Arge and Opis. This same Olen came from Lycia, and composed those other ancient hymns which are sung at Delos.”

Now, the scholar will please to remember that this and other similar records (for the traditionary hymn is a record and not a myth) carry us back to the patriarchal age, long before the establishment of that which, for the want of a better name, has been lately called “Hellenismus,” as, according to a tradition preserved by Pausanias, lib. ix. cap. 27, “The Lycian Olen composed this hymn long before Pamphus and Orpheus wrote.”

But the Hyperborean memorials, thus ancient, survived the sceptical inferences of Herodotus, and nearly two centuries after his publication, we find Callimachus, that preserver of so many ideas common to the heroic and mythic ages, thus singing in his hymn to Delos, verse 279 :—

All states lead up your choric dances,
Those who in the east, west, and south,
Have fixed their lots, and also those
Who dwell beyond the Boreal shore, a long-lived race.
These commencing send forth the sacred sheaves
Of wheat-stalks, and the Pelasgi of Dodona
First receiving them arriving from afar,

*** Secondly they come to the sacred city and hills
Of the Mækean Land.

This is, perhaps, the last vital notice by a man of genius ; for genius he had, though Ovid would only concede him consummate skill. After this, we have only extravaganzas on this subject of low Hellenic writers and of Latin authors, their servile copyists, with the exception of Temple Traditions, such as Pausanias, and scholiasts, and lexicographers, have fragmentically preserved ; nevertheless, those same fragments are redolent of the highest antiquity, of something older than Linus, Pamphus, and Orpheus.

Now, then, my young antiquarian friends, listen to a few of these Temple Traditions. First, of the Priests of the Olympian Jupiter, in Elis, Pausanias, lib. v. cap. 7,—“ These say that the wild olive (*cotinus*) was transferred to the Hellenes from the Hyperborean Land by Heracles, and that these Hyperboreans were men who dwell beyond the wind Boreas. Olen, the Lycian, first sung in a hymn, which he composed in honour of Achæa, that she had come to Delos from these Hyperboreans. At a later period, Melanopus, the Cumæan, composed an ode in honour of Opis and Hecæerge, stating that they also, even before, had come from the Hyperboreans to Achæa, and also to Delos.”

Again, lib. ii. cap. 31, Pausanias thus writes of the same priests—“ They say that Heracles laid down his club close to this altar, and that it (for it was a *cotinus*), in the first place (believe it who can), sent roots downwards, and in the second place, sprouted upwards, and that this wild olive still grows. They also say that Heracles, having found it close to the Saronis, cut from it his club.”

Hear, again, a tradition of the Athenian priests on this subject, Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 18 :—

“ Near to it was built a temple of Ilithya, who, according to the tradition of the Athenians, went from the Hyperboreans to Delos, to aid Latona in childbirth. The Athenians also say that everybody else borrowed this name from them. The De-

hians also both sacrifice to Ilithya, and sing a hymn composed by Olen in honour of her."

Hear, again, a tradition of the priests of Delphi, peculiarly, at a later time, jealous of their Cretan origin, Pausanias, lib. x. cap. 5 :—

"Boeo, a native Delphian woman, in a poem composed by her, says that the oracle of Apollo at Delphi was established both by others, who came from the Hyperboreans, and by Olen; that Olen gave the first oracular response, and that in hexameter. These are the verses of Boeo :—

Where the children of the Hyperborean Pegasus
And the high-born Agyeus established
A memorable oracle.

Then, after enumerating other Hyperboreans, she, at the end of the hymn, thus named Olen :—

And Olen, the first Prophet of Phœbus,
Who first composed a song in ancient hexameters.

I could easily multiply such notices, but these are quite sufficient to prove how indelible were traditions connected with the homogeneous character of the Hyperboreans, and the ancient religious creed of Greece, or, rather, of the far-famed Pelasgi. According to Herodotus, there had been a time when the Pelasgi had no names for the numerous Hellenic gods. He had heard this from Dodonæan priests and priestesses, who also were aware of the time when Dodona was the only oracle in the country afterwards called Hellas. Here is his extraordinary testimony :—"Now, whence sprang each of the gods, and whether all of them always existed, and what were their figures, men knew not, to use the expression, until yesterday and the day before; for, as I think, Hesiod and Homer were only four hundred years older than myself. But these are the men who invented the Theogony of the Hellenes, and who gave names to the gods, who assigned to them several offices and arts, and who shaped forth their figures."

If such was the case, the connection established between the Hyperboreans and the well-known Pelasgian Oracle of the

Dodonæan Zeus of the Oak-grove, at a period long anterior to Homer and Hesiod, leads us naturally to infer that in the earlier ages the Hyperboreans were as free as the Pelasgi from the pollution of Polytheism.

But we have some precious fragments to pick out from the wreck of ancient literature, which require due consideration from every scholar who aspires at the character of a guide through the dark period intervening between the Patriarchal and Polytheistic age.

First, under the word "Galeotæ," you will find the following fragmentary passage in Stephanus of Byzantium:—

"A nation in Sicily or in Attica, from Galeus, the son of Apollo, and of Themisto, the daughter of Thavius, king of the Hyperboreans, as will be seen in the article Telmissus."

"Some, however, say that the Galeotæ are a species of Sicilian prophets. Now, they say that the first from the Hyperboreans was Telmissus, * * (here a hiatus) * * and to them the oracle in Dodona announced that one of them should sail to the east, and the other to the west, and that each should erect an altar, where an eagle should carry off the thighs of the sacrificed victims. Galeotas arrived in Sicily, Telmissus, in Caria, where the Temple of the Telmessian Apollo now exists."

Now, Telmissus was famous not only for its Oracle and Temple of Apollo, but to this day its megalithic structures are the admiration of intelligent travellers. Hear Dr. Clarke, vol. iii. cap. 8:—

"Everything at Telmissus is Cyclopean: a certain vastness of proportion as in the walls of Tirynthus and Crotona, excites a degree of admiration which is mingled with awe."

"The kings of Caria and of Lycia have left behind them monuments defying the attacks of time and barbarians. Amidst the convulsions of nature and the earthquakes, which have desolated the shores of the Carpathian Sea, these buildings have remained unshaken. Some of the stones used in the construction of the theatre are nine feet long, three feet wide, and two

feet thick ; three immense portals, not unlike the ruins of Stonehenge, conducted to the arena. The stones which compose these gates are yet larger than those mentioned. The central gateway consists only of five, and the two others of three, each placed in the most simple style of architecture."

I cannot withhold a further testimony from Dr. Clarke, whose close observation of similar works in all parts of Europe and Asia, entitles him to be considered as an authority upon the subject. Vol. ix. p. 59 :—

"After leaving *Kiel* we observed upon our left the first monument of Danish antiquity. It was a Cyclopean structure of the kind which is called in Wales *Cromlech* : consisting of three upright stones, supporting horizontally an enormous slab of granite. It stands in the middle of a level meadow, the ground being somewhat elevated whereon it is placed. The highest point of it is now about seven feet from the soil ; but from the very nature of such a work, and its great antiquity, it is evident that the soil has greatly accumulated around it, since it was first constructed. It appears to rest on the top of a *tumulus*, whereof nothing but the summit is now visible. It would be easy to enumerate many antiquities of the same form which exist in our own country. That which is more difficult is, to ascertain for what purpose, and by whom, they were erected.

* * * * * Respecting the people who have left these monuments of their piety towards the dead in all the maritime countries of Europe, and also in some parts of Asia, there is very little information that can be relied upon. If they were Scythians, it will naturally be asked, why such monuments are not found in any part of that country ? And the time of their construction carries us back to a period far beyond all that history has recorded of the original inhabitants of Europe. It seems to be evident that they are the works of the same people who have left the other stupendous vestiges of Cyclopean architecture, which are exhibited in England by the remains at *Stonehenge* ; in Greece, by the walls of *Tiryns* ; and in Italy, by the walls of *Cortona*. We may consider the structure which

is now described as one of the specimens which they have left, indicating the march they took. Of their written characters we know nothing; because it is the peculiar characteristic of their monuments to be destitute of any inscription. There is, therefore, nothing *Gothic* about them; nothing denoting the *Cimbri*; or the *Franks*; or the old *Saxons*; but rather the *Gaulish*, the ancient *British*, and the ancient *Irish*; and, if this be admitted, they were *Titan-Cells*; the GIANTS of the *sacred*, and the *Cyclops* of the *heathen*, historians."

But the name Telmissus was generic, as there was a second Telmissus, and also a Ternissus—apparently the same; and, as I think, we may recognize a fourth at least in the Telmissus of Macrobius. He writes, in the first book of his *Saturnalia*, that in Thrace (the ancient Thracians were famous for their archaic worship) there was a renowned temple, circular and hypæthral, situated on Mount Telmissus, where a "native god" (undoubtedly the sun, as his name begins with "sab") was worshipped with magnificent religious rites; nay, more, the Siceli, among whom the other missionary settled, were connected with the Pelasgi, and with a secondary style of megalithic structures. Hear the testimony of Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 23:—

"With respect to the Acropolis of Athens, with the exception of that portion of the wall which was built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, it is said that the Pelasgi built the rest of the enclosing wall when they dwelt under the Acropolis; as they say, that the leaders of these Pelasgi were Agrolas and Hyperbius. When I inquired about them, as to who they were, I could learn nothing more than that they, being by origin Sicelians, emigrated to Acarnania."

Perhaps this tradition may help us to connect the Cyclops of Homer and of Lycia with the Hyperborean and Pelasgian megalithic builders. The Siceli are known to have moved eastward from Spain through Italy into Sicily. The very name of their masonic leaders are suggestive of mythic truth. "Agro-las" means "stone-gripper," the artist who gripped the gigantic stone with a forceps, nipper, or shears, suspended by

a chain from a gigantic crane, and which required only to be worked by the wheel and pulley of his partner "Hyperbius" (that is, a man of surpassing strength), to be raised from the ground, suspended in the air, and deposited wherever the artist wished to deposit the huge mass.

This necessary connection between the Siceli, the Pelasgi, and the Hyperboreans, may also throw some light upon the predilection which the latter people felt for the Athenians, who, according to good authority, were the last in discarding the ancient rites, religion, and perhaps language of the older race, and in conforming to "Hellenismus." This very pertinacity on their part might have been one cause why they so suddenly, when released from the Dorian chain, burst with such energy and vigour into poetic life and intellectual development.

Here, again, I must make a digression, in order to connect the sacred pathway of the Hyperborean virgins with megalithic structures. Of Dodona, the Pelasgic establishment, we cannot safely predicate anything, except that its oaks were oracular, and that its cauldrons might have been something more than great metallic bells. As I have before said, I am far more anxious to display the materials within my reach to younger archæologians, than scientifically to combine them into a compact essay, and especially to reduce to silence those "faineants" who would fain persuade the world that we have not ample means for thoroughly investigating the whole question.

The author of the *Cyclops Christianus*, page 29, says:—"Sir John Chardin relates that nearly two days' journey from Tauris, in Media, towards Sultania, he saw large circles of hewn stones; and the Persians affirmed that certain giants called the "Caous," waging war in Media, had held their councils in that place, each bringing with him a stone to serve him for a chair. They were so big that eight men could hardly move one, and it was supposed they must have been brought from six miles off."—Vol. viii. p. 371.

This account, according to Mr. Herbert, points to no age or

date—nothing definite, certainly ; but it assuredly implies that the then existing generation of Perians assigned, like all other nations, ourselves excepted, such constructions to a race of giants—"Caous," or "Cawr"—not of their blood."

But these circles of hewn stones, and used as council-halls, were, at least, as old as the time of Homer, as partly shown before. But hear what Homer says, *Odyssey*, iii., v. 31 :—

"They came to the assembly and the 'Hedræ,' or seats of the Pylian warriors."

It was a solemn festival, and the whole community were gathered together to sacrifice and feast. Of what materials the "Hedræ" were, we learn from the same book, v. 407 :—
 "Nestor came forth and sat down upon hewn stones, which were before his lofty gate, white, glittering with oil, on which Neleus used formerly to sit." Evidently the seat of justice before the gate. Then came his sons and "seated Telemachus beside him."

The scholar may compare this seat with the "sedd," or "gorsedd," whence Agamemnon, without rising from it, addressed the assembly (*Iliad*, xix. v. 7, 8).

Nay, in the descent from Dodona into the Malæan Gulf, the Hyperborean maidens in older times, and the sacred gifts in latter times, visited the most sacred precincts of the older religion, the very name of which is full of signification.

The land *Μηλια* or *Μελις* derives its name from the word *Μηλα*, and is used to express a civilized region, in the same manner as its root is applied as a general term both to the fruits which man has reclaimed from the wild state and improved for his own use, and to those animals, especially *sheep*, which we now call the domesticated races. Hence the Latin "Mala," and the Cumrian "Avalau," restricted to the mellow "fruits" alone. The Celtic scholar will be reminded here of "Ynys Afallon."

Callimachus calls its chief city "Sacred," as may be seen in the preceding quotation. "Within its bounds took place the fiery self-immolation of Heracles, and his supposed ascent to heaven. The scene of this catastrophe, so magnificently de-

scribed by Sophocles in his *Trachinæ*, was Mount Ceta, where it encroaches upon the *Ægæan* Sea, and overlooks the narrow strip of land known as the Straits of Thermopylæ. Close to the hot springs and baths was an altar of Heracles; and where the Asopus enters the sea there was a wider space, in which was situated the *ἱερόν* of the Amphictyonic Demeter, and where still are the 'Hedræ' of the Amphictyones and an *ἱερόν* of Amphictyon himself." Again, in describing the path along which Ephialtes guided the Persians over Ceta to the rear of Leonidas and his Spartans, my author thus writes—"This path stretches along the ridge of the hill, and ends over against the town Alpenus, the first of the Locrian settlements from Melias, and the stone called 'Melampugos,' and the 'Hedræ' of the Cercopes." All these quotations are from Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 176, 199, 200.

I feel as confident as a man can be, that even if the "Hedræ," both of the Amphictyonic Council and of the Cercopes, have disappeared, which, nevertheless, I strongly doubt, yet the stone "Melampugos," one of the nicknames of Heracles, still remains undisturbed, where Herodotus saw it. Equally certain am I that megalithic structures will be found still existing at one of the sources of the Spercheius, in the same vicinity where Dr. Clarke saw in the plain what he says is called in Wales a "cromlech." It is also worth observing, that the Deputation visited the little island of Tenos, famous for its megalithic Logan-stone, mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius, and that the islanders had the honour of escorting the sacred offerings to Delos.

These regions have been for ages left alone in their glory, and it was in similar deserted spots that Pausanias found most of the rude stone circles described by him. For example, lib. ii. c. 54, he thus writes:—"Nearly half a mile from the then more modern city of Hermione was the old site. Here are circles of great 'Logades' stones, and within them they perform the mysterious rites of Demeter."

But we have positive testimonies respecting the western

position of the Hyperboreans. According to Poseidonius, who himself travelled in Gaul (vide *Scholiast on the Argonauts of Apollonius*, ver. 677, lib. ii.)—"Hyperboreans dwell in the vicinity of the Alps of Italy." Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, quotes Heraclides Ponticus, as recording "that the Gauls, who conquered the Romans on the Allia, and captured the city, were Hyperboreans,"—a statement which coincides with that of Poseidonius. And a certain Protarchus, quoted by the Byzantine Stephanus, writes "that all who dwell below the Alps are named Hyperboreans."

Nay, more, we learn from a tradition, recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that Latinus was the son of Heracles by a Hyperborean maiden, whom he had received as a hostage from her father, and was leading with him. "Heracles, in his return to his native Greece and Argos, came with his Hyperborean maiden into Italy, and gave her in marriage to Faunus." These quotations are taken from Gesner's admirable paper upon the subject of the Hyperboreans. See it at the end of Herman's edition of the *Orphica*.

Gesner alludes to the fable of the Scythian or Hyperborean Abaris, who, "when he was returning from Hellas to his own country, that he might convey the gold he had collected for the god to the Temple of the Hyperboreans, went to Italy, where he saw Pythagoras, and recognized him as his own Hyperborean Apollo."

"Now," adds Gesner, "is it to be supposed that the men, who either invented or reported the travels of the sacred deputation to the Delian Apollo, and of Heracles and Abaris, were triflers without a grain of common sense, and not persons who had sufficient acquaintance with the topography to enable them to know, that persons intending to visit Delos from the Pontus Euxinus, or Scythia from Greece, could have nothing to do with Italy or the Adriatic? What then? There were Hyperboreans, unless I am deceived, even on the western shore of the external ocean. So that even Africans and Iberians, washed by the Western Ocean, were included under the term."

From the various authorities recorded by me, I think it may fairly be inferred that—

First, There were a people called not by a Gentile name like Thracians, Getæ, Scythæ, but from their geographical position, Hyperboreans, intimately connected with the earliest inhabitants of what, at a later period, was called Hellas, and with its primitive religion.

Secondly, That they dwelt in a land where the olive, the laurel, and, among other animals, asses, were to be found in a fertile soil and a favourable climate.

Thirdly, That the western expeditions of the mythological Heracles, in search of sacred plants, of milder fruits, and a finer breed of animals, had been undertaken into the regions now called the south-west of Spain and Gaul, west of the Alps; and that the inhabitants of these countries were called Hyperboreans.

Fourthly, That in the ocean, over against "Celtica" (say from the Spanish Cape Finisterre to the mouth of the Elbe), there was an island, not smaller than Sicily, situated under the Northern Bear, inhabited by men called Hyperboreans.

Now, all this depends on geographical evidence of the positive kind, and cannot be applied to any other island than Great Britain.

But in the Hecatæan description, we have other marks more social and mythological respecting this insular Hyperborean community.

First, it is stated that Latona was born here. *Answer.*—Latona was another name for night, from whom the sun and moon outsprang. But the Western Celts, according to Cæsar, sprang from Dis, the male myth for night. Hence the preference among the Celtic nations of giving precedence to night before day. So that a week is "wyth-nos," a fortnight "pyntheg-nos."

Secondly, That the great God of the Hyperborean island was Apollo. *Answer.*—Our "Melin ap Cynfelin," the "Belinus" of the Adriatic Veneti of the classic age, the "Belonus" of the

Armorican Pateræ of the Oceanitic Veneti, and the "Beli" of our more modern poets.

Thirdly, There was a sacred priesthood, a band of poets, of harpers, of astronomers, and physiologists. For they knew the Metonic cycle, by which the various revolutions of the moon and planets are found to terminate and renew themselves at fixed periods. The different ministers connected with the worship of the god, kept up a continuous service, and especially during a vernal season, recurring every nineteenth year, a great festival, which lasted, according to the best calculations, some forty days. And yet that, though they had a dialect of their own, they admitted Greek inscriptions on gifts offered by Greeks in their temple, and were, from the earliest ages, well affected to the Greeks or Hellenes. *Answer*.—Now, where but in Hyperborean regions, as geographically defined by me, can either an ocean island, such as described by Hecatæus, or a non-Hellenic people with their priests and their literary and philosophical pursuits, if you refuse to recognize them in Western Gaul and Southern Britain, be possibly found? I do not think that I shall lose anything in the judgment of truth-seekers, if, instead of dressing up my proofs and authorities scientifically and rhetorically, I content myself with a literal translation of what Cluverius, a diligent and accurate writer, compiled of our Druids about two hundred and fifty years ago (lib. i. p. 171, *Germania Antiqua*).

In describing the wise men of the Celtæ, he, quoting Cæsar, says—"They are present at public worship, superintend public and private sacrifices. When religious scruples arise, they solve them. To them, for the sake of instruction, resort a great concourse of young men, and they are highly honoured by the community. They decide almost all cases of a public and private nature; or if a crime has been committed, a man slain, or a dispute about inheritances or boundaries arise, they are the judges; and also assign rewards and fix penalties." Cluverius then adds, that Cæsar regarded them all as combined into one system. From Strabo he then proves that the body or corpo-

ration was divided into three parts: Bards, Vates, and Druidæ; and from Diodorus and Marcellinus, that the Druids were Theologians. Strabo, moreover, adds, that they were the physiologists, moral philosophers, and the skilful lawyers; also "medical men" and "augurs"; also "astrologers." Cæsar says that they discussed many questions concerning the stars and their motions; of the magnitude of the universe and of the earth, and their figures; and Mela said—"They profess to know the magnitude and figure of the earth, and of the universe; the motion of the firmament and fixed stars; also that they have their own school of eloquence, and professors of philosophy, 'as well as,' according to Diodorus, 'lyric poets and musical composers.'" Cluverius adds from Cæsar, "that the course of instruction originated in Britain," and was thence transferred into Gaul. Also, according to Cæsar, "the pupils were said to commit to memory an immense number of verses, and so to continue in some cases for twenty years under the course of instruction; as they do not think it consistent with their religion to commit the sacred doctrines to written documents, although in recording almost every other kind of business, both public and private, they use Greek characters." Again—"All the Druids have a president, who exercises superior authority over them. When he dies, if one of their body is of superior rank, he succeeds; if more than one are equal in dignity, the chief is elected by the votes of the Druids. Sometimes, although seldom, they contend for the primacy in arms."

Here is collected, from a long and respectable list of Western writers, some two thousand years and more ago, a body of testimony corroborative, in every point, of Hecatæus and other Oriental authors, which no "pooh-poohing" can set aside, nor scepticism deny. And when it is added, that in the same Britain there is to be found to this day a great sphere-shaped temple, surrounded with other megalithic structures and tumuli, which testify to modern eyes that Salisbury Plain was the centre of a great hierarchy, which must have lasted long, and flourished as the cradle and kebla of a mighty nation, united

in its worship, and anxious to be buried within sight of its holiest sanctuary, it is difficult to conceive that scholars should allow themselves to be so blinded as not to see that the sphere-shaped temple could not have been anything else than our Stonehenge.

Englishmen of high name and character, distinguished for their superior scholarship, could not but perceive the identity of the Hecatæan Temple with the ruins of Stonehenge. The author of the *Cyclops Christianus*, page 3, when proceeding to destroy all preceding theories, thus writes—"There is some need to dwell on the Hyperborean theory. Stukely maintained it faintly. * * * It found favour with Mr. Payne Knight,—was embraced by Mr. Maurice in his *Indian Antiquities*, by Mr. E. Davies and others of that school, and in the splendid volume of Sir Richard Colt Hoare." In page 11, the final opinion of Maurice is thus given—"Such is the account given nearly two thousand years ago of this circular temple, for it could mean no other, by Diodorus the Sicilian, from a writer still prior in time." Mr. Herbert then proceeds to the work of demolition, and begins with a quiet assumption, that the Hecatæus of Diodorus was not the Milesian, but another very obscure Hecatæus of Abdera, said by Suidas to have flourished under the successors of Alexander.

Now, it is out of the question that Diodorus, in quoting a famous name like that of Hecatæus the Milesian, should have misled his readers, which he must necessarily have done, if, under the bare name of Hecatæus, he had meant a very obscure man. In the very same work Diodorus quotes Hecatæus twice more: once when he classes him with Cadmus and Hellanicus; and again, where the Milesian was undoubtedly the authority on the point respecting the Egyptian Thebes. Again, Stephanus the Byzantine, in that meagre fragment which has come down to us concerning cities, nations, and their names, quotes twice, "Hecatæus the Abderite," in these very terms; but in quoting *the* Hecatæus, out of twenty times to which the index

refers me, he is called the Milesian once, bare Hecataeus nineteen times; and we know from the works quoted, that it was the Milesian who was thus left without an epithet.

Again, Hecataeus the Abderite lived about the end of the third century before Christ, when the Hyperboreans had become a mere paradise at the North Pole, far removed from *rerum natura* and known geography. It is well known that the knowledge of the geography of the North retrograded from the days of Herodotus to this man's "acme," as it was then taught that the Caspian was a gulf of the Northern Ocean, and not an inland sea, as described by Herodotus. But let us hear the precious testimonies of the Abderite. Under "Elissœa," he writes, "An island of Hyperboreans, not less than Sicily, and at the north of the river 'Carambuca.' The islanders Carambucæ as Hecataeus the Abderite."

Again, under "Carambucæ," "a nation of Hyperboreans from the river Carambuca."

This is all. The mere repetition of the two expressions borrowed from the Milesian, by the Abderite Hecataeus, seems the only groundwork for Herbert's perverse assertion. You will in vain look for the river or people in any other author, although perhaps, as men cannot invent words, the northern promontory of Asia Minor, called Carambis, suggested the name. We know that at a later period the "Ram's Horn" was denominated the Hyperborean, and Carambis itself the Hypernotian, capes of the Central Euxine. So little attention ought to be paid to ignoble writers.

But Mr. Herbert has another authority. Pliny, in his *Omnium Gatherum* quotations, had copied more at large from the same Abderite (lib. vi. cap. 16):—

"Beyond them and the commencement of Aquilo some few have placed the Hyperboreans, said by most to have been in Europe. Next is recognized a promontory of Celtica, Lytarmis. The river Carambucis, where the ridges of the Rhipæan Mountains fall along with the force of the stars."

Here the Abderite removed the Celtic promontory from the West of Europe into Asiatic Siberia, and invented a promontory not to be found by me in any other ancient author.

Had Mr. Herbert consulted Pliny's own ideas respecting the Arctic regions, he would have found them very rationally stated in the beginning of his fourth book, where he agrees with Artemidorus that all was unknown to the north of the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. But Mr. Herbert has another authority against the theory advocated by me. Apollodorus the Mythologist places the Hyperboreans on the North Pole. But, as he is supposed to have transferred the gardens of the Hesperides, and the golden apples, to the same regions, let them also be removed from Western Libya to the North Pole, where I might safely allow that Apollodorus meant to have placed them. For Apollodorus was at least a century junior to Hecataeus the Abderite, and might have adopted the prevalent opinion, that there was a Paradise under the Pole, such as the Hyperboreans were supposed to have enjoyed; consequently, to make the Hesperides their immediate neighbours was an easy step for the imagination to take, although it required the removal even of the Mauritanian Atlas to the Arctic regions. But, after all, scholars know in what a sad plight the manuscripts of Apollodorus have come down to us, and that the present work is only a patch-work of different commentators; nay, the very passage on which Mr. Herbert relies, is full of corruptions and interpolations, as confessed by Heyne himself. The transfer of the Hesperides to the Caucasus is of itself a proof that, if Apollodorus said so, he must have borrowed it from some of the later Hyperborean romances—from the Abderite himself, for aught I know.

Mr. Herbert has another argument. He says that Diodorus meant to have placed the Hyperboreans of Hecataeus in the northern parts of Asia. We may easily grant it, without allowing it in the slightest degree to affect the argument. It is not likely that Diodorus believed otherwise upon the subject than the men of his own age. But he was only a compiler, and as

such not to be trusted, for he had no critical judgment; but he is often a transcriber, and when he professes to act as such, we may be almost certain that we have the substance of his original author. For he was honest, and cares not for the conflicting testimonies, which he often works into a self-contradictory whole. Still, we must allow that it is very extraordinary that when he came to describe our own island, he should not have been reminded of the description of Hecataeus, and others who had written accounts of the ancient Mythologies.

Here are a few points in which the historian Diodorus agrees with the ancient Mythologist (book v.) :—

For over against the Paroceanic Galatia there are in the ocean many islands, of which one, being also the greatest, is called "Brettanica."

Compare the island of Mythology, "an island off the coast of Celtica, in the ocean."

Again, "the island being triangular, something like Sicily, has not its sides equally long."

Compare this with the expression, "not less than Sicily."

Again, the Hyperborean island was "under the Bears."

Compare Britannia's position, "as it is situated under the Bear."

Again, the Hyperboreans, from the Homeric times downward, were described as undisturbed by wars; none of their neighbours ever molested them with the sword.

Compare with this the following passage from the history :—"The island in ancient times was never troubled by a foreign military power. For we have not heard that Dionysius nor Heracles, nor any other hero or prince, made war against it."

Again, the Hyperboreans are described as innocent, prosperous, peaceful.

Compare this description with the following account of the inhabitants of Brettanica :—"It is said that aboriginal races inhabit Brettanica, who preserve in their habits the primitive

mode of life. For among other things they use chariots for their wars, as it is handed down to us, the ancient heroes of the Hellenes did in the Trojan war." "That in their habits they are simple, and far removed from the craftiness and wickedness of the present age. * * That the island is very populous. * * That they have many kings and princes, and that these for the most part are peacefully disposed towards each other." "That those who inhabit the western promontory of the island called Belerium, are hospitable even in an exceeding degree, and, on account of their intercourse with foreign merchants, completely civilized in their habits."

Any unprejudiced person, who compares these two portraits, must confess that, to a certain extent, the historic is a rough copy of the fancy painting, and while he may wish that Diodorus had more completely filled up the blank spots in his canvas, yet he should remember that the Siceliot stops short in his description, and thus accounts for it:—"But I will resume the description of their legal institutions, and of their peculiarities in detail, when I arrive at the invasion of Britannia by Julius Cæsar." Unfortunately, however, that portion of his works has perished, and we have only to appeal to those testimonies already collected by Cluverius, to show that every part of the fancy picture of Hecatæus and the older poets of Greece was to be found realized among the Druidical hierarchy, their system and followers; and that these justified Diodorus in saying that they were completely civilized.

Now, after demolishing successfully, as he thinks, previous theories, Mr. Herbert is obliged to confess that he does not know where to place the Hyperboreans of history, whom he cannot possibly ignore. He, however, confesses, p. 7:—"The site of their temple cannot be ascertained, and some of the accounts of it are hard to reconcile." His final conjecture is, that they were a colony of Greeks to the north of the Tanais and Palus Mæotis, but who could never be found by their inquiring friends, and were finally swept off the face of the earth, without leaving a trace of their existence, something like the case of the Welsh Indians.

Yet Mr. Herbert must know that Gesner, after noticing this theory when propounded by Bayer to the Academy of St. Petersburg, and approved of even by Weesseling, quietly set it aside in the most gentlemanly manner, as being "irreconcilable with many facts of the case, which he must regard as true."

Mr. Herbert has still another argument, a moral one. The theory, as maintained by me, is against all history. The Britons were unknown "savages" at the time,—“painted people.” It is absurd to impute the structure of such a magnificent temple to them. "No man alive" can credit such an absurdity. But the Britons, after the departure of the Romans, were scientific men—*they* built it—made it the temple of a renovated Christodruidism, and multiplied their megalithic temples, altars, chapels, &c., over the face of these islands!

What then, some persons will say, causes you to blame Mr. Herbert, since you perceive that he is willing to concede the structure of Stonehenge to the ancient Britons? Nothing but the love of truth, which, once established, is always prolific in its results, and a certainty that Mr. Herbert, although right as to the authors, is wrong about the age of the construction.

But, though the question has not been put by others, I may be allowed to start a supposed interrogatory, and ask an explanation of the anomaly:—Why Mr. Herbert should not only have regarded this megalithic subject as important enough to deserve for its investigation the publication of a book, but also have so firmly supported the affirmative that Stonehenge, with all cognate structures, was the work of the British people, at the close of the fourth or the commencement of the fifth century after Christ?

In answer to the first part of the interrogatory, I hope I may be allowed to suppose that Mr. Herbert agrees with me, that no decent history of mankind can possibly be satisfactorily composed, while the question of these megalithic structures is unsolved; and that it is absurd to pay such attention to the inorganic and fossil remains of a ruined material creation, and

yet superciliously to neglect a science based on man's work and his lasting monuments, which may safely guide us, not into some antediluvian epoch, but to the very cradle of our post-diluvian ancestors, from whom we derive not only our material bodies, and moral and intellectual powers, but also healthy traditions, affecting every relation in life, and which never have been lost, except by those who have wandered from the central light, cut themselves off from all such traditions, and have, in the gloom of the forest, or in the solitude of islands, degraded the spirit given by God.

The second part of the interrogatory, I believe, may be answered more satisfactorily. Mr. Herbert is one of the best Celtic scholars of the day, and has thoroughly studied our ancient literature so far as it has hitherto been published, and in studying it, he could not but find that the ancient Britons had a central temple, the object of their enthusiastic and imperishable veneration,—a sanctuary full of worship and life, as celebrated by their singers and musicians, while they continued to hold it, as the city of Sion is in the Psalms of David, and consecrated as deeply in their hearts and memories after they had lost it, and had been driven from its precincts, as the memory of Jerusalem is to this day cherished among the outcasts, who formerly worshipped in the great Temple of Jerusalem.

But here, for the present, I stop my hand: enough, I hope, has been stated to show that a wide field is open, and that few workmen are employed upon it.

ADDITIONS TO THE PRECEDING LETTER, FROM OTHER ARCHEOLOGICAL LETTERS.

Men are not yet, in general, emancipated from the servile principle, that written documents are the only available proofs in ascertaining the past history of man. The other monuments, which have been aptly termed "Pre-historical Annals," were

comparatively neglected, because they could not record the biography of individuals, and the transactions of states, nor subserve the object of the pragmatical historians, like Thucydides and Polybius. In the new science of Ethnology, they, however, furnish the most useful materials, and give, when rightly interrogated, the most satisfactory information.

It is well known that the bronze of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, the Romans, the ancient Germans, and the Danes, was an alloy of tin and copper, and specimens of this compounded metal have been found of extreme antiquity.

Bronze weapons extracted from the tumuli on the shores of Troy, and bronze nails found in the rubbish of the floor of the building at Mycenæ, called the "Treasury of Atreus," have, when analyzed, given the same result,—the amalgamation of the same two metals. Moses mentions tin *itself* as being found among the spoils of the Midianites, and Ezekiel describes it as one of the metals of which "Tarshish was the merchant of Tyre."

Whence, then, came the vast stores of tin which must have been consumed in forming the countless instruments and weapons, of which it was a constituent element? Ezekiel expressly says that it came from Tarshish or Tartessus.

Herodotus, who had been in Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Assyria, while betraying extreme ignorance with respect to their real position, positively states that the "Kassiteron" came from the Cassiterides. And the mode in which he makes his statement, seems to indicate that he did not know of any other place whence tin came to the East.

"The Phœnicians," says a modern writer, "long concealed the situation of the Cassiterides from all other nations. * * It need not, therefore, surprise us to learn so little respecting them from ancient writers, even though we adopt the opinion that they continued for many centuries to be the chief source of one of the most useful metals. The only districts, according to Berzelius, where it is obtained in Asia, are the island of Banca and the peninsula of Malacca. Cornwall still yields

a larger quantity of the ore than any other locality of the Old or New World, where it has as yet been discovered, and many thousands of tons have been exported by modern traders to India and China, and America."

I have often pressed this argument in conversation with men who, in other respects, were fair reasoners, but with a rooted prejudice not to be eradicated. They will not look at the inferences which must necessarily be drawn were the facts acknowledged to be true. Such men will say, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson conceived it possible that the Egyptians must have wrought tin in the mines of Malacca, and that the Tyrians thence derived "the multitude of their riches." But these are all mere conjectures, and there is no evidence, not even the slightest, in support of them.

Whence, also, was obtained the tin which entered into the composition of the bronze metal so copiously used in Gaul, Germany, and Denmark? Worsæ remarks (I copy from Wilson's *Pre-historical Annals of Scotland*, as accessible to the general reader), "There are geological reasons for believing that the bronze period must have prevailed in Denmark five or six hundred years before the birth of Christ. It is highly probable that the ancient bronze, formed of copper and tin, was diffused from one spot over the whole of Europe, which spot may be supposed to be England, because, not to mention the quantity of copper which that country produces, its rich tin mines have been known from the earliest periods to the nations of the South; while in the other parts of Europe there occur only very few and doubtful remains of far less important tin mines, which we are justified in believing to have been worked at that time."

The necessary and inevitable conclusion seems to be, that from the most ancient recorded times, long before Homer sung, or Cadmus entered Europe, the western coast of Great Britain must have been the resort of men deeply skilled in metallurgy, who conveyed the peculiar produce of its mines to all parts of the then known world, and perhaps to more distant regions ;

for it is rather too strong a demand upon our faith to call upon us to believe that, should the bronze found in the mounds of the Mississippi be similar to that of the ancient world, it could have a different origin. "It is scarcely possible," adds Mr. Wilson, "to conceive of such an intercourse, carried on for centuries, by nations far advanced in the arts, and familiar with the civilization and learning of the oldest races of Asia and Africa, without the natives of the Cassiterides acquiring from them some knowledge of the fruits of ancient civilization. From this, indeed, it has been supposed that the British miner first learned even to smelt the ore, although we are almost forced to the conclusion that the working of the mines must have originated with natives *or new colonists familiarized in some degree with the nature of the metals and with metallurgic arts.*"

The latter is the stronger probability, and it is not at all impossible that the first inhabitants of Great Britain were these Oriental voyagers, who left no portion of the known world unvisited. The island must, at that early age, have been in a very primitive state, probably in most parts a mighty forest, diversified by lakes and marshes.

What we know is, that the people of Damnonium, sprung from that race which, according to its own traditions, came from the East, and brought with them their language, arts, and other valuable knowledge, retained possession during the whole historical period of the mining districts, gave their own expressive names to mountains, rivers, woods, wells, towns, farms, fortresses, &c., and, without having suffered from the various invaders of the island a violent conquest or extermination, united with the dominant race, without losing the character which they had always borne of being a gallant, loyal, intelligent, and religious community.

Their language, which gradually died away under the gentle treatment and kind protection of the Royal Dukes of Cornwall, was a dialect of the Cymraeg, and proves that the occupiers of the mining districts of Cornwall and its islands were of the same race and language as the other Cymry of Great Britain.

And the stone monuments, popularly called Druidical, which abound in Cornwall, and are similar in character to the same imperishable records in other parts of Great Britain, in Ireland, and in more distant lands, prove the supremacy exercised by one dominant influence over obedient votaries.

The Stennis Circle, being a monolithic temple in Pomona, one of the Orcades, inferior in magnificence to Stonehenge alone, was long gratuitously ascribed to the Scandinavians, by men who were determined to see nothing in the Briton but a helpless savage, has been restored to him by Professor Munch, of Copenhagen, who has proved that the great Scottish circle belonged to a population previous to the Scandinavian settlement, "the stones of which," adds Mr. Wilson, "we may well believe, were grey with the moss of centuries, ere the first Norwegian prow touched the shores of Pomona."

I here repeat what I have before published. "The stone monuments, commonly supposed to be connected with the Druids, and hence called Druidical, were the works of a race of men who occupied this island from north to south, from east to west, in times far anterior to history, and who were not temporary sojourners, but the possessors of, and dwellers in, the land, who had brought with them from the East whatever knowledge the East had then to impart—"workers filled with wisdom and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass," who for ages supplied Europe, Asia, and Africa, with the metal most in use; whose language was the Cymraeg, of which they have left lasting monuments in the district of the mines. Such names as Bodman, Bodern, Tremayn, Tremenhere, Carmin, Minheneth, Pendarves, Pendennis, need no interpreter, but tell their own story.

But there are words in the Cymraeg connected with the metals and localities which require explanation. In addition to *haiarn*, English *iron*, the Cymraeg has *dúr*, *mael*, *alcan*, *yslaen*, *pres*, *cwydd*. *Dúr*, pronounced like the middle syllable in the Greek word *σίδυρος*, represents the English steel. *Mael* appears to be the oldest and most general word for the pro-

duce of the iron-stone, and to have been used as the measure of value. Since it also signifies gain, and *maelierva* means a market, so do *maelawr* and *maelva*. It is difficult to ascertain what was the distinction between the two metals, as in the following passage:—

Dur a mael oedd drwy ymylau ei lavyn.

Dûr and mael were in the edges of his blade.

Macl, like *Haiarn*, is used in the names of men, as *Maelderv* or *Dervael*, *Maclgad* and *Cadvacl*, *Maclgion* and *Cynvacl*. *Trevaclwr* is a common name for a house in Cornwall, and commemorates the time when the *maclwr* was either a worker in iron or a merchant.

Alcan, one of the Cymric words, is still to be seen on the Cornish map in *Trevalcan*, and was synonymous with *Ys-taen*, Latin *stannum*, English *tin*. Although the word *tin* has not appeared in our dictionaries, we see it in the word *tincerdd*, a worker in tin—English, *tinker*. The Gaelic still retains *ceard* and *caird*, to represent in English, *smith*; Cymric, *cerddwr*, a craftsman.

Prés, English, *brass* or *copper*, Latin *aes*, needs no further notice than that it apparently gave origin to the Latin word *pretium*, confirmed by the word *interpres*, the broker who settled the price between the foreign merchant and his customers. *Evydd*, bronze or tempered brass, is the name in general use of all vessels in which copper forms only a part. *Gwaew evydd* is used in times comparatively modern for a bronze spear; but while *prés* is in constant use to express copper coins, *evydd* is never so applied.

Of the antiquity of the British *evydd*, and of British metallurgy, there can be no stronger proof than the following statement:—

On the ridge of the promontory called the Orme's Head, there is to be seen a dismounted rocking-stone, commonly called *Cryd Tudno*, the *Cradle of Tudno*, who gives his name to the parish. In the promontory, copper mines are still worked, and the miners, in the year 1849, broke into an ancient work-

ing of great extent. In this were found a great number of hammers, or mauls, of various sizes, weighing from two to forty pounds. Besides them there were a number of bones, and the portion of a bronze tool. Thus were brought into close juxtaposition the British saint, the rocking-stone, the copper mine, the stone hammer, and the bronze instrument. The proof that the inhabitants of Great Britain used, and even coined, money from the earliest periods, is now complete. In my *Life of Julius Cæsar* the whole subject is fully discussed, and the errors originating in his carelessness, or ignorance, explained. However, it is to Scaliger, and not to Cæsar, that the greatest blame is to be ascribed, since the latter positively wrote that the Britons used "aureis nummis," which the former changed into the present text. It is not my intention, at present, to enter into the discussion of the consanguinity of the Gael and the Cymro, nor to the question as to the ethnology of the Gauls, Belgians, etc.

I confine myself strictly to the question of those people who spoke the Cymraeg, and who, I think, bore the name of Veneti, Britones, Britanni, and Cymry. Nor will I enter into the question, whether the men who spoke the Cymraeg were the first inhabitants of this island. In all probability they found natives here, who, perhaps the descendants of shipwrecked mariners, had become savage wanderers in the forest. The fierce Gauls, who left their native land in search of foreign settlements about five hundred years before Christ, and who probably entered Britain as well as other countries, seem to me to have been a ruder race than the Veneti of Italy, of Gaul, and of Great Britain. Whatever their origin was, they seem to have been less civilized than the maritime Veneti, who were a commercial and naval people.

I remember the prediction of an American statesman, that the day would come when the Anglo-Americans, who also went westward into the bush, would become comparative barbarians, and be certain to attack and plunder all the commercial communities on the eastern land-board of America.

The discovery of the steam-ship has prevented the realization of the prediction with respect to the Anglo-Americans. I was told by a gentleman who had lived five years in the back settlements of Canada, that canoes, hollowed by fire, were used by Englishmen, to whom shipbuilding was a known art, and that instruments as rude as the stone hammer were in constant use.

I have resolutely refrained, in the present work, from following the Cymry into their Eastern habitations, and from illustrating their language and tenets by alluding to the Egyptian, Sanscrit, and other Oriental tongues, and to what may be briefly termed Bryantology. I leave this field—and a wide field it is—to future investigation.

II.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHÆOLOGICAL LETTERS OF THE ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN.

NEVERTHELESS, I not only hope, but firmly believe, that these letters will prepare the way for a more scientific and profound investigation of the origin and successive stages in the history of these man-raised monuments, and enable us to fix with something like precision the several steps by which the pure religion of the Noachidæ was debased, among the most intellectual of their descendants, into either the brutal materialism of the Epicurean school; or the homicidal sacrifices of Tyre, Carthage, Gaul, and Britain.

Nay, more, I am confident that these same letters, though published in the columns of a provincial paper, have no ephemeral character, but will be a lasting record, as long as the Cymrian people, and the Cymrian language, continue to be living witnesses of the great facts thus closely connected with the primeval history of the human race.

And I think it "foul scorn" that during the last hundred

years the leading scholars of the dominant race, while grudging no toil, nor waste of time, nor even expense, in investigating the obscure remains of the Pelasgians, Tuscans, and other still less known races of the ancient world, should systematically, not only discourage, but deride any similar attempts to throw light upon the history and antiquities of the original inhabitants of our island, from the admixture of whose blood with that of the imported race the Briton of this day owes the high distinction that he is not a Dutchman of Lower, nor a brutish Saxon of Upper, Germany.

Still more to be deplored is the fact, that no small portion, even of our own aristocracy, deserting their natural position as the chiefs and leaders of their countrymen, should, if not actually ashamed of the red blood which flows pure in their veins, withhold their countenance and patronage from every attempt to illustrate the ancient renown of their gallant forefathers. But, thank God, better days are dawning, and we can gratefully acknowledge the service done to the Cymrian literature by many distinguished characters, not only in Wales, but also in every quarter of the empire.

But I wish to remove the subject of discussion from every locality where Greek, Roman, Saxon, Dane, could possibly have had either the will or the power to erect these remarkable monuments, still existing witnesses, as it were, of the past, and to call your particular attention to the memorials of the ancient world and its form of worship, yet to be seen in the parish of Kirk Michael, in Perthshire.

Now remember, and it is worth remembering, that the parts of Perthshire in which Kirk Michael is situated, were never within the historic era possessed by any other people than the ancient Britons, call them Picts, or Caledonians, or whatever name you may choose to assign them, and that yet in that sequestered portion of the world are still to be seen most magnificent specimens of the "Logan-stone" in close connection with other monuments commonly called "Druidical." For

example, in the 76th page of the first volume of the *Caledonia*, of the accurate and learned George Chalmers, you will find the following classical passage:—

“Among the vast variety of Druid monuments in North Britain, one of the most interesting is the ‘Rocking Stone,’ which seems to have existed in every period. That those singular stones are Druid remains cannot easily be doubted by the scepticism which denies the evidence of Druidical remains in North Britain.”

“In the parish of Kirk Michael, in Perthshire, there is an immense rocking-stone, which stands on a flat-topped eminence, in the vicinity of a large body of Druid remains, that have been already noticed. This stone is placed on the plain surface of a rock, level with the ground. It is a very hard solid whinstone, of a quadrangular shape, approaching to the figure of a rhombus, of which the great diagonal is seven feet, and the less five feet; its mean thickness is about two feet and a half; its weight must be about three tons and half a hundred; for a stone of the same quality was found to weigh eight stone three pounds the cubic foot. By pressing down either of the extreme corners, a rocking motion is produced, which may be increased, so as to make the distance between their lowest depression and highest elevation a full foot. This stone makes twenty-six or more vibrations, from one side to the other, after the pressure is wholly withdrawn.”—*Stat. Acco.* v. xv, p. 547.

“On the south descent of the hill, which is opposite to the Manse of Dron, in Perthshire, there is a large rocking-stone; it is a block of whinstone, ten feet long, and seven feet broad: and it is placed in a somewhat sloping position, and rests its central prominence upon a great flat stone which is fixed in the earth: on gently pressing the upper end, it begins a rocking motion, vibrating in an arch from one to two inches; and continues to vibrate for some time after the pressure is withdrawn.—16, v. ix, p. 483. In the parish of Abernethy, in the

same shire, upon Faog-water, near Bal-vaird,—the town of the bard,—there is a rocking-stone, which attracted the notice of Buchanan.”—16, p. 484.

Any man who knows the locality of Strath Ardel and Glen Shee, whose waters are tributaries of the magnificent Tay, and who knows the history, broken as its links are, of the tribes who occupied what I may call the innermost sanctuary of the strongholds of the Grampians, must acknowledge that no foreigner within the historic era ever forced their mountain barriers until the Scot, Kenneth Mac Alpine, in the ninth century of the Christian era, annexed, we know not by what means, the whole of the Pictish kingdom to his own Argathelian inheritance.

But what do we find in these innermost recesses of the Grampian ridge? Listen again to George Chalmers, who in the 72nd page of the first volume of his great work, *Caledonia*, thus writes:—

“The number and variety of the Druid remains in North Britain are almost endless. The principal seat of Druidism seems to have been the recesses of Perthshire, near the Grampian range. Accurate inquiry might perhaps discover that the circles and ovals of erect stones, with stone pillars and small carns within them, are the *Oratories* of ancient times; and that the circles of stones, having an altar or a cromlech within the area, or on the outside of them, have been used for the different purposes of making sacrifices. Those enclosures are sometimes formed of a single circle, and often of double and treble concentric circles, of upright stones.”

After this quotation, I hope and trust that every truth-seeker who, without prejudice, may examine these remains in the most impregnable parts of the mid-northern Perthshire Highlands, and shall compare them with the cognate structures in Cornwall, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, North and South Wales, Cumberland, and other parts of Great Britain, must confess that they were the works of a homogeneous people acting on the same principle, and covering the

whole extent of the then reclaimed parts with—for want of a better term—Cyclopean structures.

If doubts should still be entertained by any rational person, I shall be happy to return to the subject, and leave any such objector no sufficient grounds for his scepticism.

The only objection to my theory must be grounded on the supposition that the Caledonians of the earlier, and the Picts of the later, Roman writers were not our fellow-Britons, but members of the great Gothic family of the Pinkertonian school.

However, in the words of George Chalmers,—“This absurd hypothesis has not been proved either by the labours of learning or the diligence of research, either by the dexterity of sophistry or the perversity of design;” and he concludes his sentence with the following pithy remark: “And as our fellow-Britons in Perthshire were in possession from the remotest time, they cannot, according to a maxim of common law, be dispossessed except the claimant establish a better right, not by presumptuous surmise, but by satisfactory proof.”

But, before I enter further upon the question, let me again and again remind you, that we are not arguing on trifling points, but on grounds intimately connected with the history of the only revelation in words which we have received from God, and which was transmitted through Moses, the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old, and through the Apostles and Evangelists of the New, Testament.

I cannot express my own feelings more truly upon the subject of our own megalithic structures, than by quoting the following passage from the preface of Dr. Stukeley's work upon Stonehenge:—“My intent is,” says the doctor, “to promote as much as I am able, the knowledge and practice of ancient and true religion; to revive in the minds of the learned the spirit of Christianity, nearly as old as the creation, which is now languishing among us; to restore the first and great idea of the Deity, who has carried on the same regular and golden chain of religion, who keeps the medium between ignorant

superstition and learned free-thinking—between slovenly fanaticism and popish pageantry—between enthusiasm and the rational worship of God, which is nowhere upon earth done, in my judgment, better than in the Church of England. * * I shall now show, likewise, that our predecessors, the Druids of Britain, though left in the extremest West to the improvement of their own thoughts, yet advanced their inquiries, under all disadvantages, to such heights as should make our moderns ashamed to wink in the sunshine of learning and religion. And we may with reason conclude there was somewhat very extraordinary in those principles which prompted them to such a noble spirit as produced these works, still visible to us, which for grandeur, simplicity, and antiquity, exceed any of the European wonders.

“That the doctrines and works of the Druids have hitherto been so little considered (since authors only transcribe from one to another the few remaining scraps to be found in classic writers), was an incentive to me likewise in the following attempt, and at the same time it pleads for me, and bespeaks the reader’s favour. I want, likewise, the great advantages to be had from a knowledge of the remaining Celtic languages, books, manuscripts, and history,—the Cornish, Welsh, Irish, Highland, &c.—the chief repository now of their doctrines and customs : so that, in my own opinion, I may very well say with the poet,—

“*Interea Dryadum silvas et saxa sequamur
Intactas, tua Mæcenæ haud mollia jussa.*”—VIRGIL.”

I have already referred more than once to the stone monuments of a prior age still existing in the parish of Kirk Michael, in the central recesses of the Grampians of Perthshire, and have stated that, according to my present views, they enable us to prove demonstratively, that, as they are found in that remote district in every form in which we see them in the more southern parts of Britain, they must be the products of a people

holding the same religion and social faith, and animated by the same principles.

Those truth-searchers who may not have the opportunity of visiting in person these imperishable monuments, are referred to the 72nd, 73rd, and 74th pages of Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i., where they will find ample proof that every specimen of what have been commonly called "Druidical" constructions are still to be seen in that narrow locality.

I am not going to enter into all the follies and ignorance connected with what has been commonly called "The Pictish Question," but have no hesitation in affirming that the "Picts" were our brothers in language, blood, and, anterior to the Christian faith, in religion also.

They, in their last retreat from foreign aggression, still retained the faith which they had inherited from their fathers; and their various "stone circles," their "upright stones," and what we are now obliged to call "Cromlechau," prove that they were the same people who erected similar buildings from north to south, from east to west, through all the extent of Great Britain and the adjacent islands.

But the particular object of these my letters is to prove that the ancient "cromlech" was something more than a sepulchral monument, and that, though it might have been used as such at a later period, it is still to be found as a common adjunct, but not as a necessary one, of "the circles" called "Druidical," and of other stone constructions generally supposed to be intimately connected with the religious worship of our ancestors.

To prove this common connection of the "stone circle" with that construction which I must call a "cromlech," I again refer to the 74th page of Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i., who thus enumerates the many places in North Britain where the "cromlech" and "stone circle" are found in juxtaposition.

"Many cromlechs are connected with Druid circles; and several appear without circles. In the parish of Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, there is a num-

ber of Druidical circles ; the most entire of these is on the hill of Park-house, and has a large cromlech, the top stone of which is fourteen feet long, contains about two hundred and fifty solid feet, and rests upon other two large stones placed on their edges. In the enclosure of Kipp's house, in Linlithgowshire, there is a Druidical circle, having one or two erect stones in the centre, and a large cromlech near it. In the middle of one of the Druidical circles, in the Isle of Arran, there is a cromlech, consisting of a large broad stone, which is supported by three lesser ones. In the parish of Castleton, in Roxburghshire, there is a cromlech, at the south end of a large oblong cairn, near the north end of which there is a Druid circle, on a high ground. Near a mile north from the Church of Baldernock, in Stirlingshire, there is a circular plain or area, of about a hundred paces in diameter, and surrounded by an ascent of a few yards in height, in the form of an amphitheatre ; within this area or enclosure, there is a remarkable cromlech, which is called the 'Auld Wives' Lift,' and this area appears, from the remains, to have been once covered by a grove of oaks."

You may well imagine that it is not vanity or love of fame that tempted me to embody these deductions from a long series of actual observation, and a course of reading on the subject, in the ephemeral pages of a newspaper ; but a conviction that in the present awakened state of Cambrian Archæology, it is of the greatest importance that the young and active minds among us, and who feel as we feel, should, as far as it can be done by me, find the field of investigation open and patent, and not be liable to wander into labyrinthine mazes, in which they are more likely to be lost than bring back to us any valuable information. If there be any truth embodied in my communications to you under this head, it is this—that the stone monuments commonly supposed to be connected with the "Druids," and hence called "Druidical," were the works of a race of men who occupied this island, from north to south, from east to west, from times far anterior to history, and who were not temporary sojourners, but the possessors of, and dwellers in, the land—in short, that they were our own immediate ancestors, whether called by the ancients, "Cimbri," "Britones," "Veneti," or "Albani," or by ourselves, "Cymry," "Lloegrwys," "Gwyr Gwynedd" or "Gwent," or "Gwyr yr Alban."

I wish to rouse the young members of our community to a due sense of the glorious inheritance they have inherited from their Titan ancestors, and to impress upon them this vital truth, that the loss of national spirit necessarily induces a paralysis of all the nobler feelings, and that a man who is ashamed of an accident which he cannot help—of “his brethren according to the flesh,”—necessarily induces every alien of generous feeling to look upon him as a renegade, to whom he will give reluctantly the wages of his treason, and still despise the recipient.

In connection with the parish of “Kirk Michael,” I have to call your attention to the name of the Patron Saint, and to affirm that, to my knowledge, many churches, whether denominated “Kirk Michael,” “Cilmichael,” “Saint Michael,” “Llanfihangel,” &c., were built on localities which had been previously consecrated to heathen worship, and that Saint Michael was there installed as the Patron Saint to supplant and expel his old enemy and antagonist the Devil.

III.

EXTRACT FROM AN UNPUBLISHED ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPER.

OF these ancient stones of testimony, whether originating in a wish to commemorate great events, to honour departed heroes, or to celebrate public worship in union with a system of auguries, and of religious sanctions for civil law and political intercommunion, I think we may safely enumerate certain classes.

First, the *Maenchwiv* or *Maensigl*, the Rocking, or Logan Stones. Specimens of this class are mentioned by ancient writers as objects of wonder in their age. Thus, in the third chapter of the *History of Ptolemy Hephæstio*, we have this remark:—“Concerning the Gigionian rock on the shores of the

ocean, and that it is moved by a single stalk of the asphodel, although not to be removed by any application of force." Pliny, lib. ii. cap. 93, writes :—"Near Harpasa, a city of Asia, stands a rock, 'horrenda,' movable with a single finger, but when pushed, resisting all the force of man." And Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautics*, book ii., describes a stone in the island of Tenos, poised on the summit of a tumulus, and moving in obedience to the impulse of the wind. Examples of this kind are to be found in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, of which the construction must be ascribed to the remotest ages. As in the Craven dialect such a stone is called a "Roggan," I infer that "Logan" is a corruption of it, and that the English expression, "rocking a cradle,"¹ is borrowed from one of these movable rocks, just as the dismantled "Maenchwiv" at St. Orme's Head, was called the Cradle of Tudno. "Rhoc" is a pure Cymric word.

Some people believe that all such stones are natural, not artificial, just as an antiquated school of natural philosophers ascribed fossil shells to certain freaks of Nature.

Sir Robert Sibbald, the Scottish antiquary, had seen one of them dissected, and describes the motion as depending on two tenons within narrow cavities, with the lower end of the one poised upon the upper end of the other.

Second, the *Megalithic Chamber*, of which the monument in Kent, called "Kit's Cotty House," is a complete specimen. It answers almost exactly to the description of the "adytum" in the temple at Delphi, as we find it in Pausanias. Of the same character is a similar structure in Glamorgan, of which there is a model in the British Museum. The district in which it and other monuments are situated, is called "Dyffryn Golych," *the Vale of Worship*. The whole ground, originally a Druidical *τεμενος*, seems to have been transferred to the see of Llandaff, of which it was one of the granges.

Third, huge stones, in general of a tabular form, resting on uneven supporters, so short as to leave no sufficient room

¹ "To log the cradle," is still used in Devonshire.

for a chamber, and sometimes no space worth mentioning. The tabular stone, varying in the dip of its inclination, has often a gibbous form, and hence undoubtedly derived the name of "cromlech," *the gibbous flat stone*, just as the round-shouldered smith of Sir Walter Scott was called the "Gow Crom." A whole district in Perthshire borrowed its corrupted form of Cromlix from this word.

This was, probably, the nucleus of the Druidical altar.

Fourth, the *Maen-kir* or *Hirvaen*, with its varieties, from the huge and formless masses, remarkable principally for their magnitude and material, generally a gritstone, not always found in their vicinity, to the less rude monoliths, on which the hand of man has evidently been employed.

The *hirvaen* was, in general, an adjunct of the circle.

Fifth, the *Stone Circle* in all its varieties: some are single circles, others are several concentric circles. There are ovals, ellipses, and semicircles. Mr. Daniel Wilson, page 112 *Preh. Annals*, writes:—"The varieties apparent in their grouping and structure are such as may well justify the conclusion, that instead of being the temples of a common faith, they are more probably the ruins of a variety of edifices designed for diverse purposes, and it may be even for the rites of rival creeds. This, at least, is certain, that the latest, if not the only, unquestionable evidence of their use which we possess, is not as religious temples, but as courts of law and battle rings, wherein the duel or judicial combat was fought; though this, doubtless, had its origin in the invariable union of the priestly and judicial offices in a primitive state of society."

The Latin word for a circle was *circus*, the Cymric *cylch*, from which the name *kirk* or church, for an ecclesiastical building, was widely taken. In Minshew's *Dictionary*, under the word Church, we have the following list:—

In Low Dutch	Kirke
In Anglo-Saxon	Cire
In the Helvetian and Swedish . . .	Kilch
In High Dutch	Kirch

Skinner, in his *Etymologicon*, says, that *kirk* was used for "church by the Northern Angles and Scots," who borrowed it immediately from the *circus* of the Romans. The true Scot or Gael called the same building a *clachan* or *stones*. The Cymric word *llan* expresses the same meaning as the Gaelic *clachan*, for it means an open space within a fence—as may be seen in the compounds *yllan*, a corn-yard, or hay-yard; *perllan*, an orchard; *corphlan*, a cemetery or churchyard, &c.; and to this day the word *henllan*, old *llan*, is often used for places where we in vain look for a traditionary church.

A great portion of Northern Europe having been Christianized by Celtic missionaries, seems to have borrowed the Cymric *cylch* to indicate the church. Wachter, in his glossary, under the word *Kilch*, calls it a sacred edifice, and quotes a very ancient translation of the Psalms, where the Holy Church is *uns heilich chilcha*, and proves that the words *chrydir altan kilchin* meant the creed of the old Church. Now *kilchin* is the Cymric *cylchyn*, a circle. He also states that the Helvetians, tenacious of their ancient language, called even in his time a church or temple *kilch*. I am, myself, convinced that the modern form *kil*, in the names of churches in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, is mainly derived from this source.

The appropriation of the Druidical *τεμενος* to the use of the Christian Church may be proved from the stone memorials of the olden worship, which are still to be seen on some of the oldest church lands in these islands. The vicinity of St. David's Cathedral is studded with such remains, and even Iona was once the island of the Druids, and within the historical period had its cromlech.

Sixth, the *Cistvaen*, or the stone coffin, however fashioned, from its rudest form under the green mound or stone cairn to those more elaborate sepulchres, many-chambered and often buried under huge tumuli, sometimes crowned by large stones, and encircled at the base by a stony ring. The latter have nothing to do with our cromlech. They belong to a different age and different rites.

I believe that all, or at least most, of the five preceding classes were by the ancient Cymry embraced under the general name of *coelvein*, or *coelveini*, and *coelveinau*, which Pughe translates *stones of omen*; stones of testimony; good tidings; the Gospel; honorary rewards.

Now *coel*, translated *an omen*, *belief*, *trust*, and *coelio*, to believe, were the words which, in the transition from Druidism to Christianity, seem to have been displaced by the Latin *fides* and *credere*, corrupted into the forms *fydd* and *credu*.

"Thus *coelbren*, made up of *coel* and *pren*, a tree, or wood, plural *coelbrenau*, now meaning simply a lot or ballot, were the divining rods or tablets, or twigs by which the will of the gods might be ascertained by man, whatever the inquiry might be; and *coelcerth*, made up of *coel* and *certh*, certain, was the religious fire, sacrificial and expiatory, in which holocausts of victims, both animal and human, were offered up at their great festivals by our ancestors. It is curious that an oblation, something similar to the Druidical *coelcerth*, the *certa fides* of the heathen, should in modern days have been named *an act of faith*; *an auto de fé*."

There can be no doubt that the Church of Rome waged war against the principle, "*Da 'r maen gyda 'r Evengyl*," and pronounced an anathema against all persons who honoured with any veneration those stone monuments *which had not been converted to Christian purposes*. And, as Rome was dominant for centuries, the priesthood succeeded in inducing the population, to a great extent, to regard them as abominations. Hence, the bad names by which many of them, especially in remote places, are known to this day. If such a monument was not appropriated to a saint, it was handed over to the foul fiend. Hence, in Wales, such names as *Llech yr Ast*, *Llech y Dyra*; in England, *Hellstone* and *Devil's Quoit*; in Brittany, *Pouqualay*, that is, the *Stone Puck*.

Hence, a friend of mine says, "We cannot derive any valuable tradition on a point in which there is so complete a disruption between the present and the past, especially in countries like

Brittany and Ireland, where every monument was converted to the use of some saint or devil, to answer the purpose of superstition under the garb of religion."

In the language, literature, and monuments of the Cymry, we have instruments by which we are enabled to traverse, not only the medieval darkness of the corrupt Church, but also the *Hellenismus* of the ancient world, which invented new gods, and introduced a new religion—in singular contradiction to the religion of God delivered to the Noachidæ.

MEGALITHIC STRUCTURES IN AUVERGNE.

It has been too much the practice among Celtic Archæologists to overlook the numerous remains of megalithic structures in other parts of France, and principally to devote their labours to those to be found in Bretagne alone. In fact, all the countries occupied by the Galli or Celtæ of Cæsar are studded with fragments of these megalithic structures, in all parts which belong to the older geological formations, and were not, in ancient times, covered with undrained lakes or marshes. In the latter case, they are to be found only in detached spots which were once islands. This is peculiarly the case with Auvergne, the province of the ancient Arverni, whose capital, the "urbs Arverna," is now Clermont. *The Statistique Monumentale du Département du Puy de Dôme*, published by Monsieur Bouillet, inspector in that department of historical monuments, will furnish the student with ample proofs of this. The authors who have ascribed such structures to the Druids, are perfectly justified in their assertions, although they cannot quote the authority of written documents in support of them: seeing the Druids themselves consigned none of their religious tenets to written documents, nor permitted themselves to record their erection by lettered inscriptions. Still we have historical evidence to show that the religion of the ancient population of Gaul was intimately connected with these structures, and that their religion was the Druidical, brought from Britain into Gaul. This Druidical religion, which had doc-

trines, practices, and a learned priesthood, which could not be admitted into the Roman imperial system, had, at an early period, been persecuted by the Roman emperors, both in Gaul and in Britain, but could not be suppressed and destroyed, as long as Ireland and Caledonia served as secure cities of refuge for the persecuted parties. When Gaul became partly Christian, and Christians as well as believers in Druidical doctrines became equally subject to imperial persecution, we know, from the history of all such events, that their common sufferings from a common enemy would not have formed any bond of union between the two persecuted parties.

So we need not wonder that, when Constantine and his family became nominally Christians, they claimed a right to enforce Christian doctrines and practices upon the whole Roman world. And the last struggle between Constantine and Licinius signalized not only the victory of the former over the latter, but also that of Christianity over Paganism. But Druidism had more vitality than the corrupt Heathendom of the Greeks and Romans, and we can trace its existence by the long-continued attempts of councils, bishops, and Christian potentates to deter the votary from celebrating his secret religious rites among the ruins of his primeval temples, so imposing from their vastness and rude magnificence. "The duty," writes Monsieur Bouillet, "has devolved upon us, who live in modern days, to give an answer with impartiality to the great questions, raised by the existence of the fragments heaped up for so many ages upon our soil, and to invoke the skilful observations of the studios to these rustic remains, for example, the long stones, whether erect or recumbent, or supported by other stones; the fragments of rocks, grouped together, or heaped on each other, or arranged in parallel lines, or in circles, &c. These creations attest the power, the religion, and the policy of our forefathers, at present perhaps too much neglected. They deserve to be classed among the primary creations of human industry. Primitive ages have not left behind more authentic memorials, more venerable,

and worthy of our admiration. Religion, politics, the arts, have no more ancient monuments, and which have so completely escaped the destructive hands of man and of time." So wrote Monsieur Bouillet, fifteen years ago, and in page 11, adds, "The imagination is truly terrified at the sight of such masses. The question is asked, How could people, in the infancy of civilization, have possibly transported, often from great distances and not without the aid of complicated machinery, these rude stones of such enormous magnitude and weight?"

As soon as the Christian hierarchy in Gaul was recognized and endowed by the Roman emperors, no small share of authority in civil and religious matters was communicated to the leading officers of the church, who were not slow in availing themselves of the aid of the government in suppressing all visible symbols of Paganism. Closely connected with the whole Druidical system were the honours paid by them, not only to rocks and stones of various forms, but also to certain trees, and especially to springs of pure water, without which they could not perform their sacred ablutions. To abolish all such superstitious practices, became the special duty of synods and councils. Hence, we find, that in a council held at Arles, A.D. 452, the assembled clergy enacted the following canon:—"If unbelievers kindle torches before, or otherwise adore, trees, stones, or fountains, and the bishop neglect to abolish such usages in his diocese, let him know that he is guilty of sacrilege." But owing to the unsettled state of Gaul in that age, when Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, Franks, Romans, and Bretons, were striving for mastery, it is not likely that the authority of the bishop could be exerted beyond the limits of the particular city which formed his seat. When, however, the kingdom of the Franks was established, and the Merovingian family was firmly seated on the throne, the Gallican bishops, who had mainly contributed to that result, induced their convert, the victorious Clovis, to issue the following order: "We decree that whosoever shall have been admonished, that

he has in his field idols consecrated to the demon, and shall not have removed them, or shall have prevented the bishop from breaking them, must give security, and appear before us, that we may avenge the wrong offered to God."

But the stone-worshippers still continued their profane practices, although they were professedly Christians, as in the 567 A.D., a canon was passed in the council held at Tours, which "commanded their pastors to excommunicate all such as were guilty of practising, before *certain stones*, offices unconnected with the ceremonies of the church."

The Council of Nantes, held in the next century, ordered all such stones to be buried, "so that people might never be able to find them ;" and I am inclined to think that some of the cromlechs, which are found buried below mounds of earth, may have been thus covered, owing to this or some similar injunction.

All these severe regulations did not, however, abolish the abuse. It still prevailed in the ninth century, as the capitularies of Charlemagne thus testify :—"With respect to the trees, stones, and fountains, where some foolish people go to light candles and practise other superstitions, we decree the abolition of all such usages, and that he who, after being sufficiently admonished, shall not cause all such images to disappear from his fields, or who shall oppose any person commissioned to destroy them, shall be guilty of sacrilege." "In order," proceeds Monsieur Bouillet, "to efface this ancient religious respect, and as much as possible to remove all traces of it, the clergy of the middle age laboured busily to surmount the menhirs with crosses of stone or iron, such as we generally see in the present day."

In the department of the Puy de Dome, there are specimens of most of the Druidical monuments, such as rocking-stones, cromlechs, meini-hirion, &c. Of the first kind the author thus speaks :—"It is now fully demonstrated among antiquaries, that these monuments are by no means, in general, the effect of a *lusus naturæ*, or of hap-hazard. They have

evidently been erected by the hand of man * * * * and have, in general, a religious character." He then copies from the transactions of the French Society of Antiquaries, a description of one of them, written by Monsieur Dulaure, in the course of the last century. "It is," says he, "an enormous mass of granite, so poised upon a smaller stone, that on pushing it with the hand on its western side, a very perceptible vibratory movement is caused. The force of fifty men cannot render the vibrations more numerous than that of a mere infant. The inclination on the eastern side is so marked, that one would expect it to yield to the slightest impulse, and tumble down into the Vale of the Sey, which it overlooks. This granite mass is seven metres long, and covered with lichens. Several splinters have fallen from it, and others threaten to detach themselves, and will probably destroy the equipoise. The inhabitants of the vicinity have a religious feeling concerning it, as they say that the Holy Virgin brought it there and placed it in its present position." Monsieur Bouillet then adds, "Since the time when Dulaure wrote, the monument on Mont-la-Côte has lost nothing of its character, and will still resist the injuries of time for a great number of ages." Then follows a description of another rocking-stone, given by Dulaure, which is to be seen in the same vicinity. "The upper side," says he, "is much larger than the lower part, and the portion which is in contact with the base is so narrow, that, at first sight, one might believe that the slightest effort would suffice to turn it over, and send it down into the vale. When we examine the southern face of this mass, from the vale which it overlooks, we are reassured respecting the solidity of its seat. The line of contact between the supporting and the supported stones appears from this side five times longer than it does on the former side. There are seen all round, and especially on the parts near the base, slopings made evidently by the hand of man, with the design to poise it and cause the vibrations. A slight push on its eastern point, with the shoulder or even the hand, will impress upon

it a sensible movement; then this suspended mass, when left to itself, will continue to vibrate for the space of twelve seconds."

I have given this particular description, because I have seen rocking-stones exactly in similar positions in Cornwall, Yorkshire, and Scotland, all formed and placed alike. Monsieur Bouillet then describes the various cromlechs in the department, which, however, he calls Dol-men, the name generally given to them by the Bretons, and which means a table-stone. But this monument is, as well as the maenhir, so well known that it will not be described here.

In spite of the fulmination against such monuments, issued by the council held at Tours in the sixth century, there is to be seen at this day, on the chalk formation about ten miles north-west of that city, a most magnificent megalithic structure, still perfect in all its parts. It consists of a large cell, twelve yards long, ten feet high, and nine feet broad; and is composed of twelve gigantic grit-stones. Six form the two sides, while one closes up the southern end, and two are at the opposite end, so as to leave an ample doorway, with something like a vestibule in front. The room of the cell is formed of three gigantic slabs, of which the centre stone alone weighs more than twenty tons. The adjacent village is Saint Antoine du Rocher, borrowing, apparently, a portion of its name from this structure. The peasants call it, as they do many similar objects in France, "*Grotte des Fées*,"—the grotto of the *Fata*, the name which, in the decline of Roman influence, was given to those female fanatics who claimed in Gaul the gift of prophecy, and who exercised no small influence over the minds of some distinguished Romans.

It is impossible to survey this Cyclopean building, which is pronounced by the author of *France Monumentale* to be the greatest and best-preserved Druidical monument in central France, without being convinced that the people who left such imperishable memorials of their skill, in conveying from distant localities such ponderous masses, and arranging them as

we still find them, must have possessed a practical acquaintance with some mechanical powers which no savages or mere barbarians could possibly display.

Monsieur Bouillet, himself a practical engineer, while describing a somewhat similar structure in Auvergne, says, "It is eleven metres long, about four metres broad, and about two metres high. Its entrance is from the east. This is formed of two stones standing erect in the field, without being covered. Further in, the monument becomes broader on both sides, and an immense tabular stone of trachyte is placed horizontally upon granite supporters." He then adds, in a note, "Everything connected with the Celts astonishes. The construction of their monuments is so extraordinary, as to render it difficult to account for them. In the present case, for example, how can we understand how this enormous stone, which covers the second cell in this monument, was transported from the mountains of Mont-Dore (the nearest point where trachyte is to be found), distant more than twelve kilometres, and over roads which present incredible difficulties?"

In my late visit to France, I was particularly anxious to visit the territories of the Carnutes, described by Cæsar as the favourite seat of the Gallic Druids, where, on consecrated ground, supposed to be the central spot of all Gaul, they used to hold their annual council. The modern city of Chartres was the chief city of the Carnutes, and, in a corrupted form, represents their name. The vicinity abounds with almost all the forms of megalithic monuments, but mostly in a mutilated condition. My chief guide-book, *France Monumentale*, led me to expect some things much more considerable. The author thus writes:—"The country of the Carnutes was, so to say, the centre of the religion of the Druids. There were held their national assemblies, in the open air, on ground surrounded by a circle of rude stones, and in the bosom of the vast forest with which the country was then covered. * * * There are still to be seen the remains of that forest, where the religious rites were performed on an eminence encircled by

fosses of a round form, at the place anciently called 'the Mountain of Lieues,' from which is corruptly formed the name Leves. At a short distance from the bank of the river Eure, there is a vast and profound cavern, excavated in the eastern face of the mountain. It is said that in this and many other such caves, the Druids used to reside during the time of the national assemblies. It was there that they collected their most trusted disciples, in order to give them instruction, and to initiate them in the minute details of their religious practices. Opposite to this cavern was a sacred fountain, which still remains, near the late Benedictine convent Josaphat." But, alas! every vestige of the ancient forest has been swept away! The eminence, with its circular fosses, has been cleared away by improving agriculturists; the caves in the chalk hills have been converted into wine-vaults, and let out to the proprietors of the neighbouring vineyards. The fountain alone remained unchanged. It was only from the curé of the village of Leves that we obtained an account of the changes which had taken place. Among the villagers in general the tradition even had perished.

The ground, however, round the village of Leves is of that character that it could never have served for the position of a great Druidical temple. The strong probability is, that the present site of the Cathedral of Chartres was the spot where the Druidical temple stood, as it possessed all the natural advantages which fixed the choice of the Druids. I saw no fragment on the site, of any Druidical stones. If they once were here, they are probably buried in the foundations and vast substructions of the splendid building.

Chartres cannot be regarded as the central spot of Gaul, according to the loosest geographical calculation. It was so denominated according to a fiction common to all the more civilized nations of the ancient world, who regarded their own national temple, where the great festivals were held, as the centre of the earth. I have examined this question in the Appendix to *Gomer*. I add, that from one of the ancient glos-

sarics published by Professor Zeus, one meaning of the Cumric word "carn" was "the middle," thus the phrase, "de medio" is translated "orgarn." It does not now retain any such meaning. But it evidently served as the root of carn-ut-es, in modern Welsh, carn-wydd-on, anciently carnuit-on, the Gwyddon of the centre.

At one side of the great entrance into the cathedral of Le-mans, not far from Chartres, is an undoubted maen-hir of singular form. It is of great size, and probably occupied the spot before it became the site of a Christian church.

I have now shown, from authentic documents, that the Druids were the learned rulers of the people of central Gaul down to the Christian era, that they were so formidable to the Romans from their influence over the people, that their religion was proscribed and persecuted by the early successors of Augustus, and by the Christians when they became the dominant party, and yet that a great part of the same people persisted for more than eight centuries in practising the rites of the Druidical religion, and in frequenting those consecrated spots where the structures built for the purpose of religious worship according to the Druidic creeds, were to be found. That, although numerous attempts to destroy these same structures were made by episcopal councils and powerful potentates, there still remain in central Gaul numerous monuments which baffled all the efforts of their impotent assailants.

Here, then, are brought in contact with each other, the megalithic structures and the nation which regarded them as dedicated to divine worship. They inherited them from their ancestors, who had constructed them, and these same ancestors had a religious creed coeval with their temples. And, as it can be proved that the inhabitants of Great Britain were similar in their religious institutions to those of central Gaul, it follows that what was true in Arvernia is true also in Britannia, and that all the megalithic structures with which Great Britain is studded, from the Land's End to the Orcades, were the work of a people who had Druids for priests, and were

enabled by their skilful knowledge to erect such permanent monuments of their religious system. And the superior magnificence of these monuments in Great Britain, may lead us justly to the conclusion that this island was the cradle of that religious institute which, having been brought in early infancy to our south-western shores, spread gradually over the whole island, and hence westward to Ireland, and eastward into Gaul. All the other historical nations who occupy countries where megalithic structures still exist, either spontaneously corrupted their primeval religion, or were forced by foreign invaders to adopt the faith of their conquerors. The ancestors of those people, who at a later period called themselves Hellenes, occupied countries where megalithic monuments still abound, and professed, as is well known, a simpler and a purer religion than that complicated system of idolatry which was prevalent among their descendants, the Greeks of history. And the struggle between the new and old religion is represented by many a wild and poetic myth as a bloody war between the gods of the two dynasties. The older race are described as discomfited, and compelled to hide themselves in the Cimmerian lands of the Western world, according to their myth, the realms of mist and darkness. The victorious party would be certain to occupy all the *τεμεν* of the vanquished sect, and reform the buildings to suit the taste of the innovators, and decorate them with those anthropomorphous statues of their newly invented gods.

Still, as I have shown in another publication, the ante-Homeric Greeks were very similar to the Celts of Gaul in their worship of sacred fountains, groves of oak, high places, and rude stones.

Now, what line of argument is suggested by the existing megalithic structures in the ancient territories of the Arverni?

We know that central Gaul was occupied by a people who had for their legal and religious guides a class of men called Druids, who, by a long course of instruction, qualified themselves for the important duties which they had to discharge,

and who constituted a regular hierarchy placed under the superintendence of one elected chief. That the Romans, at an early period, found the existence of this order incompatible with their imperial sway, and proceeded to exterminate them by persecution; that, while this persecution was still going on, the Christian faith became the religion of the rulers of Gaul, and of a great part of the people. The proscription which the Druids had undergone, together with the loss of their privileges, rights, and property, accompanied by that mysterious secrecy which prevented all faithful members from consigning their tenets to written characters, had probably caused most of the knowledge which their ancestors formerly possessed, altogether to disappear, or at least to lose that vitality which once made it an active principle. It left no trace among the masses in central Gaul, which still instinctively clung to their ancient superstitions, other than those indicated by traditional forms and antiquated incantations. The persecution of the Druids in central Gaul had continued for more than four centuries, when, we are informed by the canon of the Council of Arles, "that there were still within their jurisdiction, unbelievers who kindled fires, and paid religious honours to trees, to stones, and fountains." Heathen temples constructed on the principles of Greek and Roman architecture, and principally placed in cities, or in their immediate vicinity, were easily converted into places of Christian worship; but the huge megalithic structures constructed in Gaul for civil or religious purposes, defied such conversion: they might be demolished, but they could not, like the consecrated lands, the *temeni*, on which they stood, be appropriated to Christian uses. They remained literally "stones of offence," and their continuous existence, especially in remote places or mountains, allured the "Pagani" to worship with traditional rites, at the same rude altars and shrines where their ancestors before them had worshipped. And as no change in the population of Arvernia had taken place between the Roman conquest and the year A.D. 452,

these same ancestors held the faith which the Druids of the times of Julius Cæsar professed and taught; and these same rude altars and shrines were the same before which the Druid priests had bowed down and worshipped. It is impossible for any rational person to come to any other conclusion. The order for abolishing them issued a century later by the Frankish king, and the threat against all who should oppose the bishops in their attempts to break them, attest the profound impression which the doctrines and practices of the Druids had left upon the Gallic mind. This is also shown by the necessity of re-enacting, by imperial authority, the laws for their destruction after the lapse of three centuries more.

It is very wonderful that so many of these Druidical monuments should still survive the repeated aggressions of the Petro-clastic party, and be found in central Gaul. But many of these were indestructible by any means which the barbarians, who ruled in central Gaul between the fifth and ninth century of our era, could command.

We now know that the Celtic, Slavonic, Teutonic, Latin, and Greek languages are branches of one mother speech, which had its home in central Asia, and that the people who spoke them must have moved westward in their migrations, without having taken into their company any considerable portion of that other ancient civilized race who spoke the Semitic language. Whether the emigrants from the East brought into the various countries of Europe a common language, which was afterwards corrupted into the various forms known to us historically, or whether the various corruptions took place in the East, and were imported into Europe by successive tides of emigrants, who followed each other at certain intervals, is a doubtful question. My own belief is, that all the maritime coasts of Europe were at a very early period partially occupied by settlers from the East, who were conveyed over the sea in ships. If central Europe, even within the historic period, was, for the most part, covered by forests,

lakes, and marshes, what must have been its condition some thousand years before profane history commences?

The oldest written documents which historic Greece possessed, were the Homeric poems, strangely changed by the Ionian scribes, to suit their improved grammar, and expressed in characters unknown in the age of Homeric poets.

Hence the Latin language, as written two hundred years before Christ, is a more archaic form of the language spoken by the ancestors of the Hellenes, than are the Homeric poems in the form which they have reached us. Even this travestied language, patronized as it was by all the temple priests and oracular prophets, did not become the common language, but was lost in the various local dialects of the several provinces.

We know, from Polybius, that state documents written 500 B.C. were drawn up in a form of the Latin language which learned Romans, contemporaries of Polybius, could not, without great difficulty, understand. Again, when the same Latin language, in its most polished form, became the speech of imperial Rome in all her departments, it gradually deteriorated, and, though adopted as the authoritative tongue of the Western Church, it could not long preserve its purity, and finally degenerated into the various dialects which derive their origin from it. The same course of reasoning is applicable to the Teutonic language, when the different branches into which it has diverged are compared with the Moeso-Gothic translations of the Gospels by Ulphilas, who lived about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era. It is therefore possible that the speech imported into Europe by the first Eastern colonies, into their various settlements, was far more uniform in its character than the various dialects historically known to us. Time and circumstances, internal and external, may have produced, within the confines of Europe, the wide divergence now existing between the European representatives of the great Indo-European language. The first emigrants from the East seem to have acted either under some extraordinary impulse, and to have occupied the various countries which fell

to the lot of the different tribes and families almost simultaneously, or at least during a space of time which may be termed the age of migration and dispersion. I see no reason to infer that the occupation of Britain by the people who reared the megalithic structures, was much posterior in time to the occupation of Greece by the same kindred race; for the principles of construction and the forms are the same in both the easternmost and westernmost sides of Europe. Now, the great corruptors of our language are, changes of religion, foreign invasion and subjugation, and unrestricted communication with strange races, different in dialect: granting this to be true, which of the people inhabiting Europe were less likely to change their language and institutions than the Celtic race, and especially the inhabitants of Great Britain? It was here that the traditionary lore and language brought from their Eastern homes was longest preserved unaffected by religious changes, foreign conquest, and unrestricted external commerce. And this traditionary lore and language survived, in various parts of the island, the domination of Rome and the conquest of the Romanized Britons by various Teutonic tribes. That lore and language still exist, and, as I have proved in my *Gomer*, contain a philosophy unknown to the sages of Greece and Rome, and full of spiritual truth and life. The creed of the Druid, before it, like all other secret systems, was corrupted and debased, contained many truths, which prepared its votaries for the willing reception of Christianity; and some of the symbolical figures of expression occurring in the Scriptures, which represent the Deity as the Rock of Ages, and our Saviour as the stone hewn out of the mountain, and his doctrines as living water springing from the Rock, were in such close connection with his own system, that we need not wonder that the Christianized Druid appropriated as a motto, and that from the earliest period, the ancient proverb, —“*Da r maen gyda r Efengyl!*”¹

¹ “Good is the Maen with the Gospel.”

PRIMITIVE TRADITION.

A Letter to the EDITOR of the EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Στριπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐνὶ μῦθοι,
Παντοῖοι· ἐπίων δὲ πολλὰς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
'Οπποῖόν εἴπῃθι ἴσως, τοῖόν ε' ἱπακούσῃς.

Iliad xi. ver. 248.

"Flexile the human tongue, and stored with many myths of varied form, and words are freely bandied to and fro. And when you speak, expect a likely answer to each say."

DEAR SIR,—The reviews connected with classical scholarship, which at an earlier period used to distinguish the celebrated journal of which you are the present editor, have been fewer of late years. I have therefore to thank you for the long and elaborate article on my *Homerus*, which you have admitted into your 155th number. Nor would I have addressed you upon the present occasion, had I not cause to fear, that many scholars, whose attention I am anxious to obtain, may, from the tone of that review, be deterred from personally examining the theories which I have proposed, and from duly considering the induction by which I have attempted to verify them. Were I sure that every sound scholar who may read the review, would also honour my *Homerus* with an attentive perusal, I should not hesitate on the line of conduct to be adopted by me, but leave the final decision to such a reader's unbiassed judgment.

But as it is a certainty, that, as an immediate result, fifty will read the review for every single individual who will read the *Homerus*, I have taken the present step, on the probable supposition that many will read a letter to the editor of the

Edinburgh Review, who are not likely to read a book which, from its title, may be supposed to be written for scholars alone. And should two or three men of clear heads, and sound in their religious and moral principles, be induced by the present publication to examine the whole question, my present object will be fully obtained. I wish it, therefore, to be understood, that, although this letter must contain some fuller development of the principles laid down in the *Homerus*, it is primarily intended for those who have read the review, and not the *Homerus*; and, consequently, that the reader of the latter will find in it much that is contained in that publication.

Now, had the reviewer given anything like a fair statement either of the theory on which the doctrines propounded in the *Homerus* were based, or of the line of argument by which such theory was supported, any repetition on my part would be unnecessary. But, as the reviewer has either suppressed or misinterpreted all that I have adduced under these heads which can be regarded as important to the right understanding of the question, no choice is left to me.

And, although I carefully abstained "from entering into any formal line of speculative argument," and confined myself to a statement of truths apparently developed in the Homeric literature, yet I was fully aware, and so, if I mistake not, is my reviewer also, that the most interesting questions connected with the true history of man, with his relation to this world and its Creator, are opened up in the *Homerus*; and that the dispute is not *de paupere regno*. In writing *Homerus*, I was anxious, on the one hand, to refute an error—on the other, to establish a truth.

The error was thus described in the preface to the *Homerus*:—"It seems to the author, that ever since the days of Epicurus, there has existed a popular belief, that man came from the hands of his Creator equally ignorant and helpless, and that by degrees he advanced from strength to strength, until he finally reached that high degree of civilization in which we find him when profane history first presents him to our view."

'The truth, on the other hand, which I wished to establish, rested upon the fact, that "Noah—the common parent of all men now living—was 'a just man and perfect,' 'a preacher of righteousness,' with whom God entered into covenant, and to whom, consequently, must have been known all those great truths which describe our duties to God and to man, and known to him through the revelation, and under the sanction, of God himself; that the children of Noah must have received, by inheritance, the same truths so revealed and so sanctioned, and have transmitted them to their descendants; that the characters of Job, Melchizedec, and Jethro, as described in the Old Testament, prove that the knowledge of the one true God, and the relation existing between him and the work of his hands, were not unknown at a period comparatively remote from the flood."

In attempting to show that the same great truths might be traced in the Homeric poems, I never even thought, much less insinuated, that the author of the Homeric poems was to be held up as a sort of "Pagan Job, Moses, or Abraham." These three great patriarchs are described in Scripture as holding immediate communication with God—a privilege which certainly never was ascribed, by me, to the Homeric writers. My object was to show, and my arguments went to prove, that the traditions inherited by the Noachidæ from their father, and in which were virtually embodied most of the essential principles by which the Christian religion is distinguished, and which were apparently pure in the days of Job, could be traced in the Homeric literature; "*yet that the corruption was so complete, and the truth so utterly disguised, that it was impossible to recognize it, except by the light of the Christian revelation.*"

This most important conclusion of my sentence the reviewer chose to suppress; and its suppression looks very like an ugly example of the *suppressio veri*, as it enabled him the more effectually to mislead the reader, and prevent him from seeing the very groundwork on which my theory was based. It is

in the same spirit that the reviewer coolly asserts, "that the scope of Archdeacon Williams's researches is virtually little more than a resuscitation of the dormant mysteries of the 'Hebrew Homer.' The poet is with him, as with Gerard Crœsius, the inspired organ—whether conscious or involuntary, does not appear—of inculcating pure patriarchal and evangelical truth, under the guise of heathenish fable and symbol. The only vital difference between the two systems is, that while the Archdeacon is less minute and specific than his predecessor in his application of the sacred to the profane, he greatly extends the principle of analogy. With Crœsius, Homer's allegory, comprehensive as it is, is limited to the past, and to the details of Mosaic history. He contents himself with demonstrating, historically and etymologically, that Troy is Jericho—Agamemnon and the Greeks, Joshua and the Israelites—Helen, the harlot Rahab. Nestor is Abraham, Ulysses, as a versatile man, is Moses, Abraham, Lot, or, as occasion may suggest, each in his turn. Penelope is Sarah; her insolent maidens, Hagar; her geese, *χῆνες*, are the Chanaanites; the eagle that destroys them, the Divine Wisdom. Alcinoüs in his garden, is Adam in paradise. Mr. Williams's views, though less minutely developed, embrace a wider and more comprehensive range of hiero-didactic mysticism. Although satisfied with tracing, in the action of the *Iliad*, the evangelical principles of atonement and retributive justice, to the single case of 'sinful and accursed Troy,' he assures us that it is but a striking representation of many a drama which has since been acted upon the theatre of the world; and the fate of Athens, of Syracuse, of Carthage, and, above all, of Jerusalem itself, is only a real form of this shadowy representation." (*Review*, page 50.) The first observation that I have to make upon the above passage, Mr. Editor, is, that although the reviewer accuses me, in another place, of embodying the poet's simple doctrines "in Scripture phraseology," yet he ascribes to me most gratuitously the use of the words "atonement" and "evangelical," and the phrase "sinful and

accursed Troy,"—expressions which are not to be found in *Homerus*.

The second is, that, if the *Edinburgh Review* had been established to give a false representation of a new publication, the foregoing passage would have been in excellent keeping with such a purpose. For the system on which the *Homerus* was composed, carefully excludes the hypothesis that the author or authors of the Homeric literature derived any revealed knowledge from any source, subsequent to the call of Abraham, and confines the channel through which the patriarchal traditions reached the Hellenic race, to persons to whom Abraham and Moses were equally unknown. The passage before adduced, and which was suppressed by the reviewer, shows how far I was from regarding the poet as an "inspired organ of pure patriarchal and *evangelical* truth." And the passage which immediately followed ought to have prevented the reviewer from adducing such unfounded charges. I had stated, "that the doctrines and knowledge transmitted from the patriarchs, and which might still be traced in the Homeric poems, were so completely corrupted that it was impossible to recognize them, except by the light of the Christian religion." Then followed these words:—"If this be true, it will necessarily follow, that God, being a just and righteous God, left not the fathers of the human race without the knowledge of his will, and that all the ignorance, and consequent sinfulness, of the heathen world, originated in the corruption and final suppression of God's revealed will; that this was permitted to take place in that nation which, above all others, was distinguished by its intellectual power, its love of the arts and sciences, and its ardent investigation of speculative truths."

Yet, Sir, with all these passages before him, and without the slightest ground for his inference, your reviewer hesitates not to assert, that the "only vital difference" between my system and that of Crœsius is, that I "greatly extend the principle of analogy"—"that my views embrace a wider

and more comprehensive range of hiero-didactic mysticism." And he grounds this misrepresentation upon the perversion of a simple statement, not easy, in my opinion, to be honestly mistaken.

The analysis of the whole fable of the *Iliad*, which was the last part of the published *Homerus*, was thus headed:—"Application of the truths, developed in the course of the foregoing inquiry, to the *Iliad* considered as an exoteric poem, exemplifying the mode in which a great nation is signally punished for national sins." Any person who will read the analysis, will discover a striking coincidence between the Homeric doctrine of national sin overtaken by national punishment, and the same doctrine as inculcated in the Holy Scriptures. My inference consequently was, that Homer had translated to us in his *Iliad* a great truth, affecting not only nations in immediate covenant with God, but common to all social states, Patriarchal, Heathen, Jewish, and Christian; and that the *Iliad* was a striking representation of many a scene which has since been acted on the theatre of the world; and that the fate of Athens, of Syracuse, of Carthage, and, above all, of Jerusalem itself, was only a real form of this shadowy representation." Who could have imagined that this simple statement of a few historical facts, which vividly exemplify the principles developed in the *Iliad*, could have so far been distorted as to make it a proof, and the only proof, that my "views embrace a wider and more comprehensive range of hiero-didactic mysticism" than was ever contemplated by Cræsius, and justified the reviewer in classing me with every delirious dreamer, from the Empress Eudocia and her pioneer Pelagius, down to Joshua Barnes, who would fain refer to Solomon as the author of the Homeric poems? The only deduction to be fairly drawn from the fact, that there "is a curious list of authors who have held that the theology of Homer was only that of the Bible disguised," was this, that there are certain doctrines in the Homeric literature, for which the authors could not account without referring them

to a Hebrew source; not that I, who disclaimed any such Hebraising views, was to be classed as a servile pupil of the Hebraising school.

But the reviewer himself may allege that he has brought this charge against me on other grounds, and that I have "mystified" the matter, by the "cabalistic phraseology with which I have disguised the simple words of the author." I know nothing but at second hand of the "mysteries of the Cabala," and am therefore obliged to conjecture that the suspicion of my cabalistic tendencies can be founded only on my adoption of a few scriptural expressions, in describing the Trojans and their rulers as nationally responsible for their national sins. The insinuation that the adoption of such expressions on my part is not only "uncritical but also unclerical," and likely to prove as offensive to the Presbyterian sympathies of the Edinburgh reviewer as of my own "orthodox brethren on the other side of the Tweed," I shall treat with great gentleness, as I regard it as a sign of grace in your pages, although it strongly reminds me (that I may not quote Scripture on the occasion) of that unfortunate giant, who used to devour windmills, grindstones, and all such indigestible commodities, with wholesome impunity, but was at last choked in the fruitless attempt to swallow a pound of butter.

But I may perhaps add, that I have a theory of my own on this point, which will always prevent me from adopting a double terminology for the one moral code which should in practice be our rule of life, and from placing sin and righteousness under one, and vice and virtue under another, category. To this abuse of words I never will be a party, even should the contrary practice be for the moment offensive to the religious feelings of an Edinburgh reviewer.

For I hope that I shall be able to prove that I have not applied "any cabalistical phrases" to the Trojans and their rulers, but have adopted, and that but rarely, only those scriptural expressions by which the conduct of the great cities and nations of the ancient world is described, although such

cities and nations were not included in the Abrahamic covenant.;

Babylon with its Assyrians and Chaldeans,—Thebes, the “populous No” of Scripture, with its Egyptians,—Tyre and Sidon, with their Canaanites, were not more sacred than profane Ilium and its Trojans; and the countless passages in which their sins and consequent punishment are denounced, contain not only the same, but much stronger expressions than those which I have applied to Ilium, and are more than sufficient to justify every expression adopted by me.

But as it might be objected, though perhaps not on tenable grounds, that the prophets were prompted by the Spirit to apply such expressions to these cities, because they were nationally connected with the Israelites, who were immediately in covenant with God, I will not avail myself of the precedents deducible from the language in which their sins and punishments are recorded, but will confine myself to Nineveh; the history of which great city has been recorded, as it seems to me, for our especial instruction as to the mode in which the just and merciful Lord of all men visited those cities and nations which had no other religious guides than the patriarchal traditions. Two different scenes, at two different periods in the history of this mighty city, are described to us in the books of the prophets Jonah and Nahum. In the first prophet we read that the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, “Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; for their wickedness is come up before me.” But when Jonah had obeyed the word, and had announced publicly in the streets, “that in forty days Nineveh would be overthrown,”¹ “the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by

¹ Jonah iii. 4.

the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing : let them not feed, nor drink water : But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God : yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not ? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way ; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them ; and he did it not.”¹

The very announcement to the Ninevites, “that their wickedness had gone up before God,” accompanied by the threat, that within forty days the great city was to be overthrown, wrought in them that sincere repentance, followed by a change of conduct, which averted the day of wrath, and saved that generation from the destruction with which it had been threatened. “The people of Nineveh believed,” “proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth.” “The king of Nineveh arose from his throne, laid his robe from him, covered himself with sackcloth, and sat in ashes.” Both the king and his nobles joined in issuing a proclamation, in which, after enjoining all outward forms of humiliation, the Ninevites were ordered “to cry mightily to God ; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands.” They felt conscious that their iniquities deserved the wrath of God ; they consequently gave credence to the prophet’s denunciations ; yet, in full reliance upon the mercy of God, they humiliated themselves before him :—“they turned away from their evil ways,” induced by the hope that God also “might turn and repent, so that they might not perish.”

Now, what knowledge could the Ninevites, their king and nobles, have possessed, which was not equally patent to the Homeric Priam, his chiefs and people ? Nay, as the acmè of the prophet Jonah is placed about the year eight hundred and fifty before Christ, and Troy is supposed to have been de-

¹ Jonah iii. 5, &c.

stroyed some three or four hundred years before, the knowledge inherited by the Trojans from their patriarchal ancestors ought to have been purer among them than among the less primitive Ninevites. At least, the doctrine upon which the latter were guided in their conduct is the same which we find embodied in the declaration of Phoenix to Achilles—"Achilles, subdue your violent anger; you ought not to cherish a merciless heart. Even the gods themselves can be turned, although their virtue, honour, and power are far greater: Yet when mankind transgress and sin, they soften even the gods by incense and humble prayers, by libations and sweet savour, and turn them from their purpose."¹

Thus also, on the repentance, humiliation, and change of conduct of the Ninevites, they were spared, and the city and empire were allowed another century of prosperity and impunity. But the descendants forgot the warning and mercy vouchsafed to their ancestors, and Nineveh again incurred God's anger. The prophet Nahum, whose acmè may be placed some one hundred and twenty years after Jonah's, thus announces God's final judgment against them, and their king and nobles:—"Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery." "And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee? Art thou better than populous No?" "Thy shepherd's slumber, O king of Assyria: thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is *no healing of thy bruise*; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee: for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?"²

Soon after the announcement of this prophecy, the Assyrian empire was dismembered by the successful revolt of the Medes, and the pride of the mighty city was humbled in the dust. And, although the capital itself did not immediately share the

¹ *Iliad* ix. ver 492.

² Nahum iii.

fate of the fallen empire, "yet its bruise was never healed," "its wound continued grievous," until, after a series of disasters and internal discord, it fell, like Troy, never to reappear on its ancient site.

It is a remarkable fact in this Scripture history of Nineveh, that Jonah's orders were not to instruct, but to warn the king and his subjects of their impending fate. They derived no knowledge concerning their duties from his mission. Their speedy destruction was the only knowledge which he was commissioned to communicate to them; and their own consciences reminded them of their sins, and suggested to them the only means by which their doom might be averted. They had heard from their fathers that God's vengeance was sure in the end to overtake the violent wrongdoer. They were of the same race, and lived in the immediate vicinity of that sublime writer whose patriarchal traditions are embodied in the book of Job—"For," says Bildad, "inquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow: Shall not *they* teach thee?"¹ And this traditionary knowledge is rightly ascribed to its true source—to the fathers of the human race, to whom God had given the earth for an inheritance. In the words of Eliphaz the Temanite, "I will shew thee, hear me; and that which I have seen I will declare; which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it; *unto whom alone the earth was given*, and no stranger passed among them. The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days, and the number of years is hidden to the oppressor. A sound of terror is in his ears. In prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him."² This is the same doctrine which the Homeric Agamemnon, who was himself one of the conservators of the primary laws transmitted from Zeus, so firmly announces in these words:—"For I know this well, both from reason and feeling—the day will come when sacred Troy shall perish, and

¹ Job. viii. 8.

² Job. xv. 17, &c.

Priam, and the people of the spear-wielding Priam, when Zeus the son of Cronus, who, raised aloft, dwells in the ether, angry at this treachery, shall himself shake his dark Ægis at them all.”¹ It was a conviction based upon the truth of the same doctrine that caused Hector, in his calmer hours, to anticipate with such melancholy forebodings the sure destruction which was to overtake himself, his family, and country. As, therefore, the same knowledge was impartially transmitted to the Pagan Trojans, which was at a much later period still prevalent among the Pagan Ninevites, and as I have not used any expressions concerning the former which are not fully justified by the terms applied by the prophets to the latter, I may be allowed to deny the charge of having used “a cabalistic phraseology for the purpose of mystifying my argument.”

Should it, however, be objected, that I have not fully proved that what was well known to the Ninevites at a later, was also known to the Trojans at an earlier, period, I may add, that the author of the Homeric poems describes the Trojans and their king as in full communication and alliance with the Lycians, Phrygians, Mæonians, and other civilized communities of Asia,—that the royal family had commercial transactions with Egypt and Sidon. Nor can it be doubted, that by the epithet, “Son of the Morning,” which he bestowed upon the splendid Memnon, he meant to represent that hero as a royal prince of that great kingdom whose sovereigns were so long called the “great kings,” and were saluted as impersonations of the sun-god. There are strong reasons for suspecting that the intercourse even of the Hellenic tribes with their oriental neighbours was much closer previous to the conquest of Asia by the Persian Cyrus than it was after that event. The victories of Cyrus appear to have impressed a more Scythian and barbaric character than they had previously borne, upon the court of the great king, and of its dependent satrapies. The intimacy of Thales of Miletus (a Phœnician by descent, according to

¹ *Iliad*, ix. ver. 493.

Herodotus) with the royal family of Lydia, itself connected by marriage with the Median monarchs, may be quoted as one instance, among many, of this fact. And not only the close connection between the princely Alcæonidæ of Athens with the court of Cræsus, but also the pre-eminence and precedence and other privileges enjoyed by the Lydian nation in the Delphian Temple, are facts for which the narration of Herodotus will certainly not enable us to account.

Of the same kind is the close intimacy between Polycrates of Samos and Amasis king of Egypt, which may remind us of the intercourse between the Homeric Agamemnon and Cinyras king of Cyprus. Of a still more striking character is the anecdote recorded by Diogenes Laertius,¹ that on the tomb of a Midas, a Phrygian king, which was surmounted by a bronze figure of a recumbent maiden, Cleobulus of Lindus, one of the seven wise men, wrote the inscription in Greek, which may be thus translated :—

I am a bronze maiden, and recline upon the tomb of Midas.
 As long as water shall flow, and trees grow tall,
 And the ascending sun shall shine, and the moon be bright;
 As long as rivers shall fill their channels, and the sea wash the shore,—
 So long I, remaining here upon this much-wept-at tomb,
 Will inform the by-passers that Midas is buried here.

Perhaps it would be difficult to prove that Cleobulus the Lindian wrote this Hellenic epitaph for the mausoleum of a Phrygian king; yet it can be proved, from the following fragment of Simonides, that, even in the sixth century before Christ, the inscription was believed to be the work of Cleobulus :—

Who, gifted with understanding, will praise
 Cleobulus of Lindus,
 Who compares to perennial streams,
 And to vernal flowers,
 And to the blazing sun and golden moon,
 And to marine oddies,

¹ In *Vita Cleobuli*.

The permanence of a statue ?
 For all things are weaker than the gods,
 While even mortal hands shatter marble.
 This is the sentiment of a man *not* wise.

Nay more, it can be shown that a Greek warrior, closely connected with the literature of Greece, had done good service to the king of Babylon, while Nineveh was as yet undestroyed. Alcæus, the Lesbian poet, celebrated his brother Epimenides, who, "acting as an auxiliary to the Babylonians, performed a great achievement, and delivered them from danger, when he slew a warrior of royal race only one palm short of five cubits." Alcæus commemorates an "ivory sword-handle also, which his brother had brought from the extremities of the East;"—"probably" (adds Müller) "a present from some oriental prince."¹

Phocylides, a gnomic poet of Miletus, whose acmè is placed at the year 540 before Christ, that is, some seventy years after the final destruction of Nineveh, could refer to the frantic convulsions of that great city, as conveying a salutary warning to all nations not to be guilty of the same conduct. His words, as preserved by Dion Chrysostom, may be thus translated:—"This also, says Phocylides, a city based upon a rock, in which order dwells, although small, is stronger than a frantic Nineveh."

If, therefore, this Hellenic poet of the sixth century before Christ could refer historically to the destruction of Nineveh as the consequence of the insane follies of its inhabitants, why should I be blamed for attempting to show that the destruction of Troy, poetically adorned by the older Hellenic poet, was ascribed by him to the folly, iniquity, and impenitence of its rulers? Especially, was I, a Christian and a clergyman, to be debarred, as such, from applying any Scripture expressions to the case of Pagan Troy, seeing our Saviour himself has held out to all nations the faith and penitence of Pagan

¹ See Müller's *Hist. Greek Liter.* p. 167, and the note.

Nineveh as an example and a warning?—"The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment against this generation, and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold, a greater than Jonah is here."

So far from having any sympathy with Croesus or the Hebraising school, of which your reviewer describes me as a faithful follower, I have, from a very early period in my scholastic career, held and taught that it must have been in consequence of some extraordinary delusion, that so many Christian scholars sought for the origin of Hellenic doctrines in the several details of the Mosaic law, and the revelations subsequent to its establishment. According to my belief, all the doctrines and practices common to the Hellenic and Hebrew nations are to be traced up to a common source, the patriarchal traditions; while the Mosaic dispensation, with its peculiar laws and customs, was a close system, divinely provided to keep one people distinct from other nations, by building up a wall of separation between them and all with whom they were likely to come in contact. And that the great difficulty in this theocratic system was to prevent the Israelites from adopting the corrupt traditions and practices of their Gentile neighbours; who are never described as inclined to derive any pure knowledge from the hateful, because godless (as they deemed them), followers of Moses.

My doctrine went still further, and tended to the conclusion, that the language in which Moses embodied his revelation was also (comparatively speaking) a language of separation; and that the long-continued effort to trace the various dialects of the Western world to a Hebrew source is not among the least striking proofs of the extent to which the errors of good and wise men may be carried, should they commence their inquiries with an inveterate prejudice: and of this character was the glossolary with which the language of Moses was long and extensively honoured. Should any language have been rationally deemed as more worthy than another, it was assuredly that dialect which the Holy Spirit adopted for the

more perfect revelation in Christ, after the wall of separation was thrown down, and when the glad tidings of salvation were to be conveyed to the ends of the earth.

Of the language thus honoured, the Homeric poems contain the oldest form, which may justly be regarded as the best representative of the spoken tongue of those Noachidæ who poured into Europe through Asia Minor and its adjacent seas, and whose dialect had little in common, not even the numerals, with the vocabulary of the descendants of Heber.

Having thus disposed (to my own satisfaction at least) of the most important charges adduced by the reviewer, I now proceed to answer others, which, if not provable, have at least the advantage of being grounded upon passages to be found in the *Homerus*.

I can submit with patience to the reviewer's assertion that my knowledge of the Homeric question "might have been possessed by a scholar of the commencement of the last century."¹ But should he honour me with a call, I shall be happy to show him a choice collection of "Homericana," from Feithe and Seberus, down to Frank, Coleridge, Clinton, and Müller; and among these, a translation, with notes, in my own handwriting, of the prolegomena of Seberus, Wolfe, Villoisin, and Payne Knight. But I early adopted the principle of stating only my own views of the truth, without alluding to the errors and mistakes of men wiser and better than myself. The establishment of a truth is, by far, the best confutation of an error. In alluding to the Wolfian theory, I meant to state that the supposition that the *Iliad* was nothing more than a congeries of ancient ballads, had been utterly demolished by the very minute and elaborate analysis, by which both Payne Knight and Fynes Clinton had proved the necessary connection between all its parts. The dictum on which the reviewer fixes, as betraying my ignorance of the Wolfian theory, was uttered to enable me to assume without further proof of the authority of the *Iliad* as a well-known document

¹ *Review*, p. 51.

in the time of Solon, and to prepare the way for that new proof which I adduce, that the scenes of the *Iliad* were familiarly known to the Western Greeks at a period far anterior to the acmè not only of Peisistratus but of Solon.

Another proof adduced by the reviewer in support of his charge, that "my Homeric studies seem scarcely to have kept pace with the spirit of the age," is grounded upon "the supercilious contempt with which (according to him) I treat the Alexandrian critics." On re-reading the passage in the *Homerus* to which the reviewer refers as proving the charge, I allow that my statement, although intended for the particular case under consideration, might easily, by a loose interpretation, be regarded as a general condemnation of the Alexandrian school. My intention was solely to stigmatize the principle on which they pretended to decide between genuine and spurious passages in the Homeric poems—a principle which had no other guide than their own taste and judgment, and which consequently varied with the various standards of the individuals. Their authority, as a final court of appeal, in deciding upon the genuineness or spuriousness of any given passage, I therefore utterly disclaim, and will always reject. But my own practice ought to have taught the reviewer how far I was given to disparage them as grammarians and verbal interpreters of the text. So high do I hold their authority as interpreters of words and passages, that there is not a single translation in all my *Homerus* for which I cannot quote the authority of some one Alexandrian critic.

I reject their authority, when they claim to be new "Homeric," because, as Leo Allatius, quoted by Villoisin¹ in his prolegomena, writes—"Such is the madness of critics, and their depraved taste, that in editing authors, they do not attempt to discover what the author himself has said, but what *he ought* to have said, and prescribe to him a course, not that followed by himself, but that which they think should have been the right course." I honour and value them,

¹ Page xxxiv.

because they did not destroy those passages to which their condemnatory obelus was affixed, and because they preserved for us all the various readings which the more esteemed editions, whether published by states or individuals, seem to have contained. But, granting that the reviewer might have mistaken my meaning on this head, it was hardly fair to infer from it that I felt anything but respect for the name and character of Aristarchus. Before the reviewer had arrived at the ambiguous passage, he must have read the following observation:—"Now, when men like Pindar, Simonides, Aristotle, Thucydides, and Aristarchus, the foremost men in intellect of their age,"¹ &c. &c. My own fear was, that from a class-spirit I might have too greatly exalted a mere critic, by placing him among such *prima virorum*. Certainly I did not expect to be ranked among those "who despise the labours of the great masters of the court of the Ptolonies," much less as "one who would pronounce an anathema against them and their Coryphæus."²

But it seems, that though my principle, with respect to the authority of the Alexandrian critics, was wrong, yet my practice was right. For the reviewer enters at large upon repeated appeals to their authority, to be found in the *Homerus*, and thus sums up his charge:—"Here we have ten citations of Alexandrian critics, either in support of the Archdeacon's own views, or as evidence that much of his theory was known in their school. On various other occasions, where their opinions are quoted as at variance with his own, they are yet considered of sufficient weight to be analyzed and combated. Nowhere are they appealed to as authorities for varieties in the text of the *Iliad*. How is this to be reconciled with his previous declaration that their authority is worse than useless, and that he will pay no attention to them, unless where they furnish us with various readings?"

Half of this charge has been already answered. With respect to my non-appeal to various readings, I have to state,

¹ *Homerus*, p. 8.

² *Review*, p. 53.

reviewer's view of the meaning, while my translation is plainly indicated in the following words:—" *αρ τι τουτο αμφοτεροις επλετο κρειον ηπερ οτε ημεις αχθυμενοι μενεχναμεν.*" The reviewer's criticism upon my etymology of *ατιταλλω* will do him no credit, should his name ever become public. The scholar is referred to my examination of the word.

With respect to some minor observations, such as my rejection, as a general rule, of the pronoun "thou," and the use of such expressions as "personally," "in one respect," "individually," "on the contrary," &c., I have no answer to make; on such points every man should consult his own taste, without being annoyed by his neighbour's criticisms. The extreme deficiency of our own language in marking such indications of opposition as are indicated by the Homeric *δε, δ' αυ, δ' αὐδς, αλλα, αυταρ,* will long prevent a scholar from presenting such a translation to the public as shall thoroughly meet with his own approbation. The rule to be adopted with respect to *you* and *thou* is equally unsettled and unsatisfactory, and requires some authoritative settlement.

Still more difficult is it to disprove the truth of other more important charges adduced against me by the reviewer, and to prove that certain ascribed faults, of which the origin must be referred to critical blindness, mistaken taste, and want of judgment, are in reality no faults: as, for the settlement of disputes which may arise on questions of this nature, there is unfortunately no court of appeal, and all that can be done is to examine their bearing by the light furnished by the author himself, without attempting to darken his original meaning by our own fanciful theories. With these sage observations I doubt not my reviewer will cordially agree, and, while professing that they have been his only guides, will accuse me of having violated them all. Still, perhaps, a reconsideration of the case may prove, even to the reviewer himself, that I have allowed Homer to be his own interpreter,—that the only ethical code by which I have examined his works, is that code which I found contained in his own words,—that

it was by the light drawn from his own explanation of the words *Θεμυς, Δίκη, Τιμή, Πόνη, Ατή, Τβρις, Λιταί*, that the whole high moral tone of the *Iliad* had been, if not deduced, at least illustrated, while my reviewer, in attempting to account for the same undoubted tone, has been compelled to call to his aid various theories and supposed speculative truths.

After carefully deducing, from the Homeric poems themselves, the ethical principles which furnished, in my opinion, the key-notes for constituting a system of Homeric harmony, I had applied them to an analytical examination of the argument of the *Iliad*, which I regarded, on Homeric principles, as "an exemplification of the mode in which a great nation is signally punished for national sins." To borrow the words of a writer who has concealed his name, and to whom, except as an anonymous writer, I consequently cannot refer my reader, "The slightest observer cannot fail to see that the *Iliad* is not written at random. But its full and true argument has not yet ceased to be matter of dispute. So long, however, as we are ignorant of *that*, we must be unable to appreciate its merits. As Father Hardouin justly observes, "We have no means to enable us to decide upon the merits of a poem, or upon the character of the actions which it brings before us, except we see the poet's ultimate object."

I flattered myself that this "ultimate object" had been discovered by myself, and that, in consequence, a strong light had been thrown both upon the main argument of the *Iliad*, and upon the striking characters graphically delineated by the poet's pencil. Nor has any observations of my reviewer tended in the slightest degree to shake this my self-complacent conviction. On the contrary, the careful manner in which the reviewer has contrived to exclude from his article the very principles of my work, and the application of them in detail, makes me doubt whether he himself is not afraid of the effect which the very enunciation of them might have upon the wavering adherents of his school, and, consequently, whether this very article itself does not betray some symptoms

of a conversion—latent, indeed, and reluctant—to my doctrine. At least it may be said, that in one passage the reviewer allows the truth of the supposition upon which my whole theory depends, and which, once granted, must necessarily lead to all the conclusions which I have drawn from it. These are his words:—"It may also be conceded, that the primary source of this belief of a God, the rewarder of virtue and chastiser of vice, *is* the scriptural tradition of a corrupt but responsible human nature, perpetually liable to be seduced by the passions consequent upon that corruption, into reckless sin or confirmed depravity; their deliverance from which can only be effected by repentance and the atoning propitiation of divine grace. From which it in some sense results as a corollary, that the less perfect notions of morality and religion, common, under various modifications, to the heathen, reflect more or less polluted emanations from this purer fountain-head. Thus far we are able to go along with Mr. Williams."

The spirits of Hardouin and of Granville Penn, the only modern scholars in whose works something like an outline of my system may be traced, would have been delighted had they been permitted to witness this acknowledgment in the pages of any journal so extensively influential, Mr. Editor, as your own; especially as previous to the publication of my *Homerus* it would be vain to look in any journal, conducted on your principles, for such an acknowledgment. But whether this acknowledgment be the result of a real persuasion of its truth, or merely a concession to the rapidly increasing respect for scriptural authority, the traditional knowledge concerning right and wrong, inherited from the fountain-head by the fathers of Homeric literature, was, upon the reviewer's theory, practically unproductive. According to him, it might have existed, but was not called into action, and consequently could produce no practical results. For, if we believe him, we must not impute to this tradition the high moral tone which, as all must confess, pervades the *Iliad*, whether a real history or a poetical figment, but to the simple

fact that the poet was himself a Greek, consequently the national eulogist of his countrymen, and the patriotic libeller of their Trojan enemies ;—that, in short, “ the *Iliad* is nothing more than a running commentary upon the fable of the man riding the lion.”

Were this the truth, does not the reviewer see that even this concession is sufficient for my purpose? For nothing but a complete knowledge of the moral law, as *now* known, could have enabled the Greek poet to tell his tale with such consummate skill, that all the facts mentioned prove to this day the aggressive violence and bad faith of the Trojans, and the justice of the Achæan cause, and the superior national trustworthiness of the Achæan community. Compare the *Iliad* with the *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar, and it will be seen how that great man and accomplished scholar, with all his skill, has failed to carry our sympathies along with him. According to his own explanations, he was the redresser of wrongs, the protector of the feeble, and a model of good faith : the facts stated by himself prove, that, on the contrary, he was a violent aggressor, a contemner of the law of nations, and merciless in his vengeance.

But are Homer's birthplace and country so well ascertained, that the victory of the Achæans, and the justice of their cause, and the defeat of the Trojans, with their malpractices, may safely be ascribed to the mere fact, that Homer was descended from some branch of the great confederacy under Agamemnon, and that he had no connection with any of the tribes of Troy and her allies? Hardouin,¹ no mean authority, would have it that he was a subject of one of the Ænead dynasty in the Troad. But, instead of repeating a former statement of my own, I transcribe a passage from the same writer already quoted :—“It is well known what a number of cities contended for the birth of Homer, both in the continent and islands of Greece, and upon that seaboard of Asia where so many of the families of the same race were settled. Chios, the seat

¹ Hardouin, *Apol. d'Homere*, p. 11, Paris, 1716.

of the college of the Homeridæ, Smyrna of Æolis, and Colophon, loudly asserted their claims. Argos, Athens, Salamis, Ithaca, Teos, Lebedos, Grynium, and Crete, were also competitors for that honour. This in itself suffices to involve his origin in mystery, and we behold with astonishment so many claiming what none could substantiate.

"But the matter becomes more serious when we find his birth variously assigned to Cyprus, Egypt, Mæonia, Italy, Lucania, Rome, and Troy, and that he was esteemed and called a cosmopolite—'On the whole, every state claims the man, whence he may properly be called a cosmopolite.' He was not given to the various countries enumerated in a literal sense, but by force of some inference, and in some argumentative sense which served to connect him with them all."

Here, surely, we have sufficient grounds for doubting whether we can safely refer to the accidents of Homer's birthplace and local patriotism, as the sources of his moral excellence as a poet; for the ambiguous nature of the fact must necessarily affect the conclusion thence to be derived.

Should we, however, adopt the reviewer's theory, and view the moral lessons, so strikingly inculcated in the *Iliad*, and exemplified in the fate of the Trojan monarchy, as nothing but the result of national partiality on the poet's part, who had merely adopted "the invariable policy of the victor in such cases, and represented the vanquished rival as an old and heinous delinquent, or, as Mr. Williams would express it, as 'a hardened and unsanctified sinner,' whom divine vengeance has overtaken, and himself as an aggrieved party, the righteous instrument of well-merited vengeance upon incorrigible guilt,"—if, I say, we adopt this theory as our guide in estimating the moral character of the *Iliad*, we must necessarily apply the same test to the *Odyssey*.

The war companions of Ulysses, and the Achæan community of Ithaca, held the same relation to the Homeric writer, whatever that might have been, which existed between him and the Achæan confederates under Agamemnon. But the

partiality which is supposed to have distorted the views of the poet of the *Iliad*, and to have induced him to represent the Greeks as the righteous victors because they were his countrymen, and the Trojans as the guilty vanquished because they were not, totally disappears in the *Odyssey*.

The Cicones, whose territories were piratically invaded, and whose property was recklessly plundered, without any previous declaration of hostilities, defeat and inflict a signal punishment upon the marauding Achæans of Ulysses.

Even the unpardonable offence which finally sealed the fate of these same Achæans was an act of sacrilege—the seizure, under a very pressing necessity, of sacred property, and the conversion of it to their own use. This “appropriation act” was, according to my terminology, a “sin,” although I must doubt, Mr. Editor, whether you will allow me to call it a “crime.”

The author, Achæan as he was according to the reviewer’s assumption, seems to have had no sympathy with the flower of the Achæan nobility of Epirus and the adjacent islands; for in his poetical character he slaughters them all without mercy, in a manner most disgraceful to them, by the hands of four men, of whom two were slaves of foreign blood.

I do not wish to anticipate any of the views to be developed in *Homerus*, Part II., but I must make two observations.

First, that the Phœacian community is described as far superior in civilization and its attendant enjoyments, to any Argive, Achæan, or Ionian community.

Secondly, that were I to accept the reviewer’s theory as my guide, and to assume that the most virtuous and prosperous community described by the author was necessarily his own, I should undoubtedly infer that Homer was an Egyptian, for Egypt is exalted in his poems far above other lands.

In the *Iliad*, her capital, the hundred-gated Thebes, is described as the wealthiest in the world—capable of daily sending forth, were their services needed, twenty thousand war-chariots with their forty thousand horses and warriors.

And the men of Egypt were as generous and kind to strangers (the Homeric test of high civilization) as they were wealthy—lovers of peace, yet brave in war—devoted to agriculture and the useful arts—herbalists of no mean acquirements—deeply skilled in medical lore—and, what is still more rare among nations, merciful to suppliant foes, and liberal to the poor.

These characteristics of the Egyptian people may be inferred from the following passages :—"And Helen came forth from her fragrant lofty chamber, like Artemis with the golden distaff. And Adrastea arranged for her the well-finished reclining chair. And Alcippè bore a cushion wrought from soft wool. Then Phylo brought the work-basket which was given to Helen by Alcandra, the wife of Polybus, who dwelt in the Egyptian Thebes, rich in accumulated wealth. Polybus gave to Menelaus two baths of solid silver, and two tripods, and ten talents of gold. His wife also presented Helen with a golden distaff, and with a silver basket running upon wheels, the edges of which were all mounted with gold. This basket, filled with balls of well-spun thread, Phylo placed before her mistress, and across it lay the distaff, bearing violet-coloured wool. Then Helen sat upon the reclining chair, with her feet upon the footstool."¹

"Then Helen, daughter of Jove, thought of another device. She infused into the bowl whence they were drinking, a drug which allayed all sorrow and anger, and obliterated the memory of all evils. Should any one drink of it after it was duly mixed in the bowl, not a tear would he shed for that day, —no, not even were his father and his mother to be dying, or were a brother or beloved child to be slaughtered before his eyes. The daughter of Jove possessed such drugs, skillfully prepared, and of great virtue, which were given to her by Polydamna, the wife of Thaon, in Egypt, where the life-bestowing earth bears most drugs, many of great virtue when duly prepared, and many poisonous, and where every indi-

¹ *Odyssey* iv. ver. 120, &c.

vidual is a physician more skilful than all other men, for they are of the race of Pæan."¹

In the following passage the reader may observe the strong contrast drawn by the Homeric writer between the conduct of a body of Cretans, his supposed countrymen, and that of an Egyptian community, aliens in blood and feelings, who, according to the reviewer's theory, the poet must have regarded as a people to be duly punished for their incorrigible guilt in resisting men who, according to the reviewer's supposition, were the poet's own countrymen.

A pirate captain sails with nine ships from Crete, and on the seventh day anchors his vessels in the gently flowing Nile. His narration then thus proceeds :—" My orders to my faithful adherents were for them to remain on board and protect the ships, and send forth scouts to commanding points. But they giving way to a spirit of violence, and following their own inclinations, commenced plundering the splendidly cultivated fields of the Egyptians. They were slaying the men, and preparing to carry off their wives and helpless infants. But the war-cry soon reached the city, and on hearing it, the citizens with the dawn came forth, and the whole plain was filled with foot-soldiers, war-chariots, and gleaming armour. Then Zeus, delighting in thunder, instilled cowardly fear into my companions, nor did one of them, encompassed as they were on all sides, dare to resist : there many of us were slain, and many carried off captives, to work for the Egyptians under compulsion. But Zeus himself suggested this thought to me, * * * I took off my well-wrought helmet, laid down my shield, and threw away my spear. Then I ran up to the king's chariot, and seized and kissed his knees. He pitied and protected me, and, having seated me in his chariot, carried me weeping to his own palace. But many, eager to slay me, exasperated as they were, thrust at me with their ashen spears ; but the king prevented them, and dreaded the anger of Zeus, the protector of strangers, who visits evil deeds

¹ *Odys.* iv. ver. 219.

with his vengeance. There I remained in the country for seven years, and gathered great wealth among the Egyptians, for all were liberal in their gifts."¹

The principle proposed by the reviewer as our guide in estimating the ethical characters of Homeric heroes thus utterly fails, when applied as a general rule. It may even be doubted whether the author or authors acknowledged any difference of race and blood between the various tribes which fought before Troy, whether they were the Achæans, Argives, Ætolians, Cretans, Cephallenians, &c. of the confederacy under Agamemnon, or the Trojans, Lycians, Pelasgians, Caucones, Pæonians, Leleges, &c. of the confederacy under Priam. In the *Iliad* itself we have one instance, and on the Homeric principle that is quite sufficient to show that the chiefs, in making their selection between Agamemnon and Priam, were induced to do so by other reasons than those arising from a national feeling. The example is contained in the following passage (*Iliad* xiii. ver. 362, &c.):—"Idomeneus slew Othryoneus, who was present from Cabeus, and he had newly come to win honour in arms. Without offering bridal gifts, he demanded in marriage Cassandra, the very beautiful daughter of Priam. But he promised a mighty deed, that he would drive by force the Achæans from the Troad. And the aged Priam promised and consented to give her to him. Thus he fought, relying upon the promise." Idomeneus then thus proceeds to mock his fallen foe:—"O Othryoneus, I pronounce you the most renowned of mortals, if you will indeed perform all your promises to the Dardan Priam, and he promised his own daughter. Now we, having made a similar promise, will perform it, and having brought her from Argos, will give to you in marriage the most beautiful of Agamemnon's daughters, if you will aid us in destroying the well-inhabited city of Ilium. But come along, that we may agree about the marriage at the sea-traversing ships, since we are not illiberal in exacting bridal gifts." The ancient com-

¹ *Odys.* xiv. ver. 259.

mentators knew nothing of the country and tribe of Othryoneus. Some placed Cabeus upon the Hellespont—others in Cappadocia; a third tradition described him as a Lycian, and the brother of Sarpedon; while a fourth, to the great disparagement of the Queen of Troy's character, represented him as the illegitimate son of Hecuba. What is really known concerning him must be derived from this passage alone; whence we may infer that he was a powerful chieftain, who had long wavered between the two belligerent parties, and had finally joined the Trojans. His power as a chief, and his status as a highly civilized member of social life, are indicated by the fact that both Agamemnon and Priam were willing to secure his services by giving him a daughter in marriage. If we examine the question by the light furnished by the Homeric poems alone, the conclusion must inevitably be, that the author never hints at any superiority of race in the Achæan over the Trojan confederates: with him, Asteropæus, Sarpedon, Æneas, and the other Dardanidæ, are as divine in their origin and as high in civilization as the Æacidæ, Atreidæ, and Heracleidæ; nor are the ladies of Achæa and Argos (Helen alone excepted) superior in beauty and accomplishments to the Asiatic heroines Chryseis, Briseis, and Andromache, not to mention the Polydamnæ and Alcandræ of Egypt. Even the very origin of the war—the preference given by the elegant and accomplished Helen to the "godlike" and brilliant Paris—infers the equality of the two races, as even the reclaimed Helen of the *Odyssey* (iv. 264), when comparatively speaking of Menelaus, can say nothing stronger in commendation of her first choice, than that "he was not inferior in any point, neither in intellect nor in person."

The same impartiality with which Homer describes the individual members of either confederacy is equally visible in his portraiture of the several members of Agamemnon's confederacy. It is in vain to attempt to adduce any proof from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which will justify us in regarding him as an Achæan rather than an Argive, an Argive rather than

an Ionian, an Ionian rather than a Cretan, a Cretan rather than a Cephallenian, or a Cephallenian rather than a clansman of any other tribe among the confederates of Agamemnon : we may safely infer that he was not a Dorian, but certainty extends no further. The mind which could thus sacrifice self, and leave no trace in the mighty works which still attest its wonderful powers, of the name, country, and race of its possessor, must have conquered the "last infirmity of noble minds," and have soared immeasurably above those low feelings which tempt men to exalt themselves, their family, and nation, by falsely ascribing to their own circle all the virtues, and calumniously pronouncing their opponents guilty of every vice and crime. The spirit of Homer had nothing in common with such men ; and if he could forget his own fame, in composing the imperishable monuments of his genius, satisfied with the fact, that, though not to be identified with any locality or age, his fame was never to perish, he was not the man to yield to minor temptations, and to

Heap the shrine of luxury and pride,
With incense kindled at the Muse's flame.

This spirit of fairness and impartiality long survived the Homeric age ; and it would be as difficult to fix the brand of wilful falsehood and partiality upon either of the two great historians of Greece, Herodotus and Thucydides, as it would be to defend the great body of historians from the truth of such a charge. The deliberate falsification of facts for dishonest purposes was the work of more ignoble spirits ; and those writers who, for party purposes, wilfully distort the truth, whether the party be national, political, or religious, must seek for a prototype somewhere else than in the Homeric poems.

But, according to the reviewer, there is another general principle which might sufficiently account for the striking moral lessons which may be derived from the study of the Homeric poems. This is his explanation of it :—"Perhaps

the best practical illustration of that primary axiom of every sound theory of moral sentiment—that there exists in the breast of the natural man, even in the most corrupt state of society, an instinctive approbation of what is right, and condemnation of what is wrong—is supplied by the history of narrative composition in every age and country. Even in the records of real events where the actual facts are most stubborn, we can trace a pervading tendency to interpret success as the reward of virtue—disaster as the punishment of crime. But in works of fiction the operation of this principle becomes a fundamental law, any broad departure from which is sure to involve in a corresponding degree the credit of the author or of his composition. The rule holds good, more especially, perhaps, in the literature of a primitive age, when the social relations between man and man are more direct and obvious than in periods of greater refinement, where, in proportion as they are more complicated in themselves, the speculative theories concerning them become more subtle and abstruse.

“Among profane poets, ancient or modern, Homer, the most ancient of all, is the one whose excellence in this department of his art shines pre-eminent, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the favour of his age, mainly, however, to the bent of his own admirable genius.”¹

Were I sure that my definition of the “natural man” and of the “primitive age” would coincide with my reviewer’s, there would not be much discrepancy between his creed and mine on the truth of this principle. According to my definition, the age was primitive in proportion to its proximity in time to the patriarch Noah and his immediate descendants, and the “man natural” to such an age ought to bear that intellectual and moral character which a due training in the doctrines and practices in the, as yet, uncorrupted school of patriarchal tradition might be expected to form. But if by the “natural man” we are to understand the savage, who, having wandered into the wilderness at some unknown period,

¹ *Review*, p. 57.

has there lost all traditionary knowledge, and has preserved nothing but the instincts of his nature—if he is to be regarded as the earth-born brute of the Epicurean school, who was supposed to have gradually raised himself in the scale of existence, until, proceeding from strength to strength, he finally stood forth among the nations with the expanded faculties, the intellectual powers, and moral feelings, of which the author of the Homeric poems so unequivocally displays the very early existence—and if the word “primitive” of the reviewer is to be understood as conveying the same meaning which the expression commonly bears in modern authors, who employ it to denote a *condition* rather than any determinate period, and according to whom it may be applied to the Red Indian of North America, and the still more degraded Australian,—I reject the whole hypothesis, and assert, without hesitation, that it is advanced in direct contradiction to all the known facts of history.

No man could have achieved the wonderful creation of the Homeric poems by an act of genius, however consummate, had he not received a rich inheritance from his immediate predecessors—an inheritance which he received in common with the audience which he addressed, who, without attainments of the highest nature, could neither have honoured the poet nor appreciated his works. Of the inheritance thus transmitted to him, the language which he used was the most magnificent heirloom, being itself a still living record of the wisdom, the science, the taste, the sentiments, and intellect of the race from whom the poet received it. It was this language—not invented by him, but bearing unequivocal marks of having been worn down by constant use before it passed into his hands—this language, so simple in its vocabulary, so methodical in its formation, so scientific and fixed in its grammatical structure, that enabled the great poet to embody the thoughts and acts of a race of whom we know nothing historically, in words, clauses, and sentences, which, after the lapse of some three thousand years, convey more vividly the originally

conceived ideas to the scholar's mind, than any other language after the lapse of three centuries. The very fact that the earliest poems of the Achæan muse transmitted to us were also the best, is an irrefragable proof that they were the productions, not of a gradually improving age, but of one which, whatever might be the cause, was in the full possession of a moral and intellectual system fully developed.

The reviewer's appeal, in support of his own theory, to the practice of those writers among civilized nations who have imitated Homer, and his attempt to make their works a standard by which we are to measure the moral capacities of the ancient poet, are neither logical nor satisfactory. Even should they, like Pindar, Æschylus, and Sophocles, have thoroughly imbibed the spirit of their great master—or, like Ennius and the disciples of the Latin school, only dreamed that they were Homers—or should they, like the poets and fiction-writers of modern Europe, have derived their models from classical antiquity,—*their* practice cannot enable us to throw any light upon the principles of their great master; and to reason from them to him is childish in the extreme. Strike off, in the literary world, the names of those writers who have not derived their inspiration either from the Homeric, that is, the classical school, or from the Holy Scriptures, and there will not remain among men a literature worth the name. The Homeric system must have been based on the great truths inherited by the Noachidæ; and even in its worst production, like similar productions of the worse portions of the modern French school, proves that the light originally derived from heaven was never among them thoroughly extinguished.

Indeed it is impossible to compare the passages already adduced from the writings of the patriarch Job with portions of the *Iliad*, without feeling a conviction that the doctrines there set forth were learned in the same school. It is to his having associated with "those of old," whom no man born at a later period could equal, that Nestor ascribes that superior

wisdom to which he lays claim in the assembly of the chiefs. It is to the wisdom and practice of former heroes that the aged Phoenix appeals as the strongest reason why Achilles should follow the advice tendered by him. Above all, it is to the daughters of Memory that Homer himself appeals as the legitimate source of that knowledge which he could not obtain except by some process equivalent to the evidence of a written record. Before entering upon the description of the catalogue, a dry list of names, numbers, ships, nations, and warriors, he calls upon the Muses to furnish him with the necessary information :

For ye are goddesses, and are present and know all things ;
But we only hear reports, and know not anything.

It was in the school of the Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosynè, whatever was the reality indicated by the mythos, that Homer acquired those instructions which enabled him to produce the works which, as productions of combined art, judgment, and genius, have hitherto remained unrivalled.

In the words of a first-rate scholar, " Much of their manifest and extraordinary merit is more generally felt than easy to define, arising from the simple sweetness both of their language and their rhythm, from the golden mean observed in the use of images, and, above all, from their just and noble view of the human character : neither dissembling its bad passions and infirmities in order to display an unnatural perfection, nor yet showing them in such a glaring light as to offend both the taste and moral sense of the reader."

Modern philosophers have amused themselves with certain theories about a supposed statistical progress of the social life of man. Hence we have, as a type of a very primitive state of existence, the hunter life, then the shepherd life, then the agricultural life without a central city, and lastly the agricultural life in combination with a central city and with commerce. Such a division is harmless in itself, and one with which we need not quarrel. But when the disciples of this school attempt to infer, from the past or present existence of

communities in such various states of social combination, that the whole race must necessarily have passed from the simpler to the more complicated forms of social organization, they assume a conclusion for which they can produce no proofs, and assume it in direct contradiction to the testimony of the only records we possess of the earlier ages of mankind.

Each of these social states was well known to the Homeric authors, from the rudest condition of savage life, to the most highly civilized and flourishing political communities. This will be shown more at large in *Homerus*, Part II. But although this juxtaposition of the various states of life, placed at a simultaneous period under the reader's eye, shows that Homer was a much sounder philosopher than the modern disciples of the statistical school, yet still more redolent of "hoary learning," of matured skill and severe art, is the definite rule within which the action of both the great poems is confined:—"There is one definite feature which divides the primeval epic from all other metrical writings, and that is the unity of action and limited duration of time: the former tending to one end or to several ends ingeniously combined, and the latter confined to not many days. Nothing so plainly demonstrates the existence of systematic rule, as the shifting we see used to evade it. We cannot read the English tragedy of *Cato*, without seeing that unity of place is rigidly exacted in the school to which the author belongs; and the like observation must occur to us concerning time, when we see that King Alcinoüs and his family are kept the whole night listening to a narration which occupies four books, and comprehends the events of a far longer period than was permitted for the action of a poem. But in process of time the arts of the Homeridæ were so far forgotten, that the minstrels of a later age, who sought to imitate them, never discovered even the principles upon which they wrote. Hence, Aristotle writes:—"Consequently all such poets as have composed a *Heracles* and a *Theseus*, or other poems on the same principle, seem to have erred; for they think that, as *Hercules* is one

person, so also all that can be related concerning him must be one action. But Homer, as he excels in all other respects, seems to have seen the truth on this point also, whether he owed the discovery to art or to genius." "Indeed the great philosopher, when he came to analyze poetry, was led back to those very principles which the past generations of men had known and practised, and which he found already embodied in the remains of Homeric literature. Homer was, therefore, taught in schools, *antiquæ laudis et artis*, and was separated from the next following revival of learning by such a gulf of time as had obliterated even the memory of the rules and canons of good taste upon which he had acted."

This confirmation of my own views, read by me since the publication of the *Homerus*, only tends to show that at certain periods, minds unaccountably hurry to the same conclusions, and that a new light dawns *generally* upon many, instead of being *suddenly* discovered by one individual. The time is rapidly coming, when every person, not labouring under an epidemic monomania, will be forced to confess that the Homeric poems were the production of a mind trained in a first-rate school of highly civilized men.

I willingly bring these more general disquisitions to a close, and proceed to examine the grounds on which the reviewer has accused me, not only "of being blind to the historical and poetical value of the *Iliad*," but of having allowed "my eccentric doctrines to affect my judgment of the individual characters of the poem," which, according to him, I have distorted or exaggerated in order to make them square with my favourite theory."¹

The characters which I am charged with having especially misunderstood, and consequently misinterpreted, are those of Priam, Hector, and Achilles. Let us, then, examine minutely the leading features of these Homeric portraits, and see how far my copies, as expressed in English, have departed from the truth of the Greek originals.

¹ *Review*, p. 61.

And, first, concerning Priam. The reviewer, dissatisfied with my representation, thus sketches the Trojan monarch :—
“ In the character of Priam, as really conceived and portrayed by Homer (one of the finest and most delicately drawn of the poem), we see the generous, easy-tempered, kind-hearted, old oriental sultan, worn out in mind and body by an accumulated load of affliction, consequent on the disastrous war in which he had been involved by over-indulgence to the sensual pleasures of a favourite son, and to the ardent spirit of martial rivalry on the part of his people to a proud hostile confederacy.” This is a spirited sketch, but fanciful, and very deficient, as I believe, in truthfulness. For if by the oriental sultan are meant any such characters as have occupied in modern times the despotic thrones of the Eastern world, Priam was certainly no such sultan, but a limited sovereign, holding his sceptre by the same tenure as the Achæan and Argive kings. His polygamy had nothing in common with that of the seraglio, but was the result of the same policy which induced the Macedonian kings and the leading chieftains of ancient Germany to form marriage connections with the daughters of chiefs of independent tribes for political purposes. These inferior wives lived among their own people, and never were domiciliated in the palaces of their husbands. The history of our own Cambro-British chiefs fully illustrates the principles of this policy.

Priam was venerable in appearance, majestic in person, courteous in manners ; and, when unexcited by grief or anger, kind-hearted in his treatment of his immediate friends and dependants. And such, as I believe, has been the character of most of the powerful-minded tyrants of mankind : such spirits must have their hours of social enjoyment and relaxation, when nought but the velvet of the tiger’s claw is displayed in action.

While preparing this answer, I was much struck on incidentally reading the following passage in Lord Francis Egerton’s *Eastern Travels*. His Lordship is describing the

Emir Bechir of Mount Lebanon, whom he had called a venerable man:—"The barbarian who sits before us has the advantage of his European visitors in many outward particulars—in grace of attitude, richness of costume, and dignity of manner. He is generally, in the latter, a personification of mildness, gravity, and good humour. * * * He was brought up in scenes of blood and danger. * * * Powers of craft and intrigue raised and retained him where we found him."

The Homeric Priam was also a prince who from his boyhood was conversant with danger, wars, and bloodshed. At an early period of life, he had witnessed the invasion of his native land by a resistless warrior—the king, his father, slain—and the capital taken by storm, and totally destroyed. In Homer's words, "Hercules had sacked Ilium, and widowed her streets."¹ From this state of desolation and humiliation it had, under Priam's guidance, struggled through all difficulties, and risen to that pre-eminent position in which the poet describes it as existing previous to the Achæan invasion. At that period, the empire of Priam far surpassed in wealth and power all the neighbouring communities. This result could not have been achieved without the manifestation of great wisdom and energy on the part of the monarch himself. Hence Hecuba, his royal consort and confidant, when consulted by him respecting his intended visit to Achilles, thus remonstrates with him:—"Alas! whither, pray, has fled your prudence, for the exercise of which you were wont to be renowned, both among foreigners and among your own subjects?"² Homer, with his usual striking economy—Homer, "qui nil molitur inepte," furnishes us with two facts, from which the prudence and energy of Priam may safely be inferred, and that he was no oriental sultan, who ruled his empire from the secret chambers of his harem. From the first fact we learn that he had been sent on a special mission by the Trojan state, or, what is more intelligible, that he had volunteered to be his own ambassador to the fierce Thracian

¹ *Iliad* v. ver. 642.

² *Iliad* xxiv. ver. 201.

tribes of the opposite continent, and that his mission had terminated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.¹ For the Thracians gave, and Priam accepted, as a pledge of their agreement, a splendid bowl, a valuable heirloom for the royal house. The second fact stated by himself informs us that the Trojan prince in person had conducted a body of auxiliaries to the assistance of his neighbours the Phrygian kings, when on the banks of the Sangarius they had assembled to repel the invasion of the Amazons.² Such was the Homeric Priam previous to the Achæan invasion—a prince who had succeeded to a nominal throne, who had raised his country to a high position, famed for his wisdom, an able statesman and enterprising warrior.

To represent this great man as “worn out in body and mind,” even in the tenth year of the war, may be allowed to pass in a fancy sketch, but must be thrown aside as an idle imagination if we wish to discover the real features of the King of Troy. Twenty years had elapsed between the offence of Paris and the close of the war; while the refusal to listen to the claims of justice, and make full satisfaction for the aggressive offence, had been given when the “oriental sultan’s” youthful energies might be expected to have been not repressed, but chastened by the more mature wisdom of advancing age.

Priam’s offence was committed at a time when there was no pressure from without of foes threatening sudden vengeance, but consisted of a deliberate refusal to listen to any satisfaction for a great wrong committed by his son and subjects. And he persisted in the same refusal to the last, unmoved and immovable. His ruling passion was ambition; and when this was rudely checked by a series of adverse circumstances, he seems to have decided, that, perish people, perish children, he was to cling to his idol to the last, and not to part with power except with the last gasp of life. I am forced to be minute upon the subject, as I feel convinced,

¹ *Iliad* xxiv. ver. 234.

² *Iliad* iii. ver. 155.

that without a full comprehension of Priam's character, the *Iliad* cannot be adequately understood and appreciated.

My reviewer makes a serious mistake when he supposes Hector to have been "the real guide and governor of the nation." For, not to speak of civil government, Priam had, up to the opening scenes of the *Iliad*, retained the direction of military affairs in his own hands. This we learn from Hector's complaint in the fifteenth book, that the Trojans had up to that time been cooped within their walls, and prevented from active operations, "owing to the cowardice of our elders, who, although I wished to fight at the sterns of the ships, both checked *me*, and restrained the troops."¹ Even when, at last, Hector, in consequence of an express message from Zeus, had assumed the uncontrolled command of the troops in the field, Priam never allowed the reins of civil government to fall from his hands, and retained to the last the military command within the city walls. By borrowing an illustration from the living characters of our own age, I can safely assert, that I would as soon expect the present very Priam-like ruler of Egypt to demit one jot of his civil sovereignty in favour of Ibrahim, his favourite son, and commander in the field, as allow any such demission of power to have been compatible with the hardened and ambitious spirit of the King of Troy. In the very first scene where he is personally introduced to the reader of the *Iliad*, the poet describes Priam's character with a depth of imprint which ought at once to stamp his leading features on our imagination.

The poet's own estimate of human life is in strict conformity with the scriptural doctrine, "that man is born to misery as the spark flies upward;" and, without referring to other passages strongly indicative of the fleeting and unsubstantial nature of human enjoyments, it will be sufficient to appeal to that melancholy statement which the poet places in the mouth of the father of gods and men—the usual mode in which he conveys to his audience his own more solemn convictions:—

¹ *Iliad* xv. ver. 715.

“ Was this done that you might endure sorrows among unhappy men? for of all the creatures which breathe and creep upon the face of the earth, none is more miserable than man.”¹

But the theory ascribed by the poet to Priam was far different; for with him, prosperous as he once had been, but then crushed by national and domestic disasters, great and boundless power was still the god of his idolatry, and the source of his happiness.

The Trojan king, encompassed by his aged councillors, and seated upon the lofty tower of Troy, looks down upon the movements of two mighty armies: the one composed of his own subjects and allies, and led forth to battle by his own son—the other a foreign host, which had for years been cutting short the quarters of his kingdom, and was then advancing to take his capital by storm. There is something frightful in the composure, calmness, and even kindly temper which he displays in such an emergency, when the embattled hosts were hastening to meet in deadly conflict. The tears of Xerxes, when reviewing his own mighty army alone, as the thought arose that within a few years' space, the whole multitude would be swept away by the course of fate, showed sweet sympathy with his fellow-men, when contrasted with Priam's apathy on the very eve of the battle shock. But the secrets of his heart, his inmost and most cherished feelings, are laid open to us in the words which burst from his lips on being told that he had recognized, by the beauty of his person and the majesty of his mien, the leader of the assailing host, the king of men himself. “ Helen spoke, and Priam gazed with admiration upon Agamemnon, and thus spoke:—‘ O blessed son of Atreus, born in a happy hour, highly favoured by fortune! numerous, in truth, are the Achæan warriors who bow submissively to your sway.’ ”² He then recurs to the mighty armies which he had himself seen congregated, and adds, but

¹ *Iliad* xviii. ver. 446.

² *Iliad* iii. 182—“ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡ Ἀργείῳ, πομπηγεῖς, ἀβέδαιμον !

even these were not so numerous as the dark-eyed Achæans. The very word which I have translated "bow submissively" strongly indicates Priam's love of unlimited power; for an Alexandrian critic thus explains it:—"The metaphor is taken from irrational animals, for the word in its first meaning is applied to the act of taming them." In fact, an inveterate spirit of ambition had rendered Priam callous to every feeling which did not bear immediately upon himself, his pride and power; and this *pride* was so strong, that it would prevent the living man from giving up the *power*.

The quiet coolness with which Priam and his councillors were contemplating the movements of the adverse hosts from the lofty tower of Ilus, was suddenly interrupted by the arrival of the herald Idæus, who informed him that the military leaders on both sides had agreed to refer the decision of the war to the issue of a single combat between Menelaus the complainant, and Paris the accused, and that his presence was called for to ratify the solemn agreement by which both parties were preparing to bind themselves. The poet states, that on hearing this announcement, "the aged king shuddered," but instantly proceeded to obey the summons. Concerning the solemn manner with which he entered into the treaty, and the awful imprecations which were invoked upon the head of that party which should first violate the compact, it is not necessary to dwell. But when the transaction was concluded, Priam, after publicly stating that he *could* not be a spectator of the combat between his dear son and Menelaus, and referring its issue to Jove, returns to Troy.

But here I must observe, that there are passages, especially in the first eight books of the *Iliad*, which would prompt us to believe that the ironical style, in its modern meaning, was not altogether unknown, even to the more serious moods of the Homeric school. In Müller's words:—"The countenance of the ancient bard, which in the beginning assumed a serene character, and is sometimes brightened with an ironical smile, acquires by degrees an excited tragic expression." Something

of this, as I believe, may be seen in the fact which the poet states, after allowing the old warrior to profess that his sensibility would not permit him to be an eyewitness of the combat—"Thus he spoke, and the godlike man placed the two lambs in the chariot."¹ The veteran warrior did not allow his feelings to interfere with his prudential habits; and, as he had furnished the victims for the sacrifice, so he also took care that he and his friends alone should feast upon them.

The treaty, which had been solemnly concluded in the presence and under the sanction of Priam, although, perhaps, he was only a silent and idle spectator of the scene, was soon followed by its reckless violation, and the heavy loss and defeat of the Trojans.

The evening of the same day shows us the assemblage of the Trojan community at the gates of Priam—a concourse which the poet describes as "fearful and disorderly." The events of the day had been such as to shake the confidence of the community in the wisdom and honesty of their rulers. A treaty which had been nationally guaranteed, had been violated by individuals. This violation had led to a sanguinary conflict, in which the community to which the violating individuals belonged had been severely punished. Hence it is a necessary consequence, that every member of the community who possessed any feelings of honour and honesty should feel indignant at such conduct, especially when it had been followed by consequences so destructive. And in this view an Alexandrian critic upon the passage agrees with me:—"The assemblage *must* have taken place, for they were compelled to look to the necessary consequences, seeing the king's two sons had been defeated, the city itself almost captured by Diomed, and that they themselves were dispirited on account of the violation of the treaty." Another adds:—"It is clear that the king had not convoked them, but they in their indignation crowded to the palace."

It was under these circumstances that Antenor, Priam's

¹ *Iliad* iii. ver. 310.

own chosen companion in the morning visit to the battle-field, and who had seen his sovereign himself ratify the treaty which had been so instantaneously violated, proposed publicly that the Trojan community should act up to the terms of the compact by which they were so solemnly bound. The proposal was met by a contemptuous and abusive declaration of Paris, who, nevertheless, professed his willingness to restore the stolen property, with some additions from his own stores; but stated his firm determination to retain the lady. Hector was silent, but Priam, without a single allusion to Antenor's argument—without even an attempt to excuse the public violation of faith, decided the whole case himself, and dismissed the assembly—"Now," said he, "take your evening meal in the city as before,—place sentinels, and be vigilant. On the morrow let Idæus go to the hollow ships, and mention to the Atreidæ, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, the proposal of Alexander, for whose sake the contest arose; and let him also add this equitable request, that they will cease from hoarse-sounding war until we burn our dead. After that, we will fight until the Deity separate us, and give the victory to either party."¹ The poet prefaces this short speech of the Trojan king by the following words:—"Then rose to them Priam, the descendant of Dardanus, *equal to the gods in council*;" which must be interpreted as an ironical expression, or that the poet wished to insinuate that the characteristic wisdom, for which he had been renowned in former days, had now, by his sins, been changed into a foolish infatuation.

No portion of the *Iliad* seems to have given more trouble to the Alexandrian critics, than the whole behaviour of Priam during the course of this day. They were by no means prepared to believe that it was sensibility alone which prevented Priam from being an eyewitness of the combat, and they indulge in long disquisitions to account for the coolness with which at an after period he could gaze upon the flight, combat, and fall of Hector. One suggests, that Homer judged it

¹ *Iliad* vii. ver. 366.

necessary to remove the Trojan king from the field, as, had he been present when his son was conquered, he must almost from necessity have fulfilled the treaty. A second hints that he retired in order to have a better view of the combat from the tower of Ilus. A third insinuates that his object was to guard the city, which, whatever might be the event, he was determined to keep in his own hands. One thing is clear, from the close of the message to the Atreidæ, that he had no wish to terminate the contest by any compromise whatever, but was determined to leave the final result to the fate of war. Had he stated the same determination before he entered into that treaty, which, had his son proved victorious, would have relieved him and his people from their difficulties, the farce of the solemn oaths and obligations might have been spared.

In full keeping with the stern reality of Priam's character, but in contradiction to the theory, that his calmness and gentleness were based upon sympathy with the common feelings of the human heart, are the orders by which the weeping and mourning Trojans were forbidden,¹ while burying their slain kinsmen, to lift up their voices in sorrow, and were compelled to heap the funeral pile in silence.

But the completest development of the character of the Homeric Priam is exhibited in the measures adopted by him for the preservation of the city from the imminent danger in which it was placed, by the total defeat inflicted upon the Trojan army by the irresistible Achilles.

Hector, emboldened by his momentary success, had encamped with all his warriors for two nights in the plain, and had devolved the defence of the city upon the youthful striplings and hoary-headed elders. But the partial success had not lulled to sleep the vigilance of Priam, who seems never to have willingly left his favourite station upon the tower of Ilus. When the son of Peleus was driving before him the broken battalions of the Trojan host, the poet thus describes Priam and his operations:—"The aged Priam stood upon the god-

¹ *Iliad* vii. ver. 423.

built tower, and recognized the terrible Achilles. Before him the Trojans were thronged in flight, nor was there any resistance. With a deep groan he descended from the tower, and summoned the trusty gate-wards to their post. 'Hold the gates wide open until the flying troops shall have entered the city; for close at hand moves Achilles, driving the troops before him, and I fear there will be sad destruction. But when the Trojans within the walls shall breathe again, then reclose the well-fitting valves, for I fear this destructive warrior may spring into the city.' Thus he spoke, and they drew back the bolts, and threw open the gates, which secured the safety of the fugitives."¹ The annotation of an Alexandrian critic on the first line of this quotation, shows how completely his conception of Priam's energetic character agrees with mine:—"The very fact that the aged king was on the tower, shows how full he was of the spirit of the struggle. So the poet, having conducted the army within the walls, did not think it consistent with character that any other than Priam should make all the necessary arrangements; for he was the king, and a wise king, who had ceased from field operations on account of his age alone."

By Priam's own orders the gates were thrown open—by his own order they were again closed and bolted. Nor when, on reascending the tower, he discovered that the son who was his peculiar pride and glory had been shut out, does Homer allow us to suppose that they would have been reopened for a moment, after the close approach of Achilles had rendered it possible for that swift-footed warrior to "spring into the city" with any fugitive.

On the contrary, we know from the poet's statement, that the gates must have been closed against him in his greatest need. Here follow the proofs (*Iliad* xxii. 5):—"Then destructive fate fettered Hector to remain there before Ilium and the Scæan gate." It must be remembered that the tower of Ilus surmounted the arch of the Scæan gate. At the thirty-fifth

¹ *Iliad* xxi. ver. 526.

line, Hector's position is again mentioned :—" He stood in front of the gate, resolutely eager to fight Achilles." But when the critical moment came, when his ethical courage sank under the immediate fear of death, there was no refuge within the walls—the gates *were still closed*. Hence the poet adds (ver. 36), " But when Hector saw *him*, terror seized him, nor had he resolution any longer to remain there, but left the gate behind him, and fled away."

Priam had been the first to see the approach of the defeated Trojan army, and of Achilles pressing upon their rear. So also, again, he was the first to descry the second approach of the conqueror, who had been beguiled by Apollo for a short period from his main object. So that, according to the poet's own authority, even the most common infirmity of old age had not overtaken him, and his eye was still bright, and from long experience could, undimmed by time, distinguish objects where younger men could only see confused masses.

Even the remonstrance and appeal, which the father makes from the summit of the tower to his fate-fettered son at the gate, are not only deeply pathetic, but also characteristic of his own serious deficiencies as a moral and responsible being. In the pressing entreaties with which he urges Hector to enter the city, and to live, the whole body of argument is based upon the loss which, should Hector perish, would be sustained by Priam and his people. But while he deprecates in the strongest terms his own fate, under a melancholy description of the unseemly appearance of an old man's naked and dishonoured corpse, he overshoots his mark, and unconsciously glorifies the death by which Hector was then to fall.

His words are (after describing the unseemly appearance of the slaughtered body of an old man)—" But when a young warrior is slain in battle, and pierced by the sharp sword, he lies a goodly spectacle, for every member of the slain hero appears beautiful to the eye."¹ The comment of an Alexandrian critic upon this passage is very apposite :—" This appears, on Priam's part, rather an exhortation to brave death,

¹ *Iliad* xxii. ver. 71.

than a dissuasive to avoid danger, although the wish is apparent to persuade Hector to enter the city, and not to await Achilles." Priam's error in the management of his argument is, according to my theory, to be ascribed solely to the influence of Atè; but still the poet's own argument proves, that, although Priam loved his son much, he loved Troy as a secure possession much more.

During the long pause which took place while Hector was soliloquizing—during the long-continued race—during the preparations for the combat—during the combat itself, and for a certain time after Hector's fall, we hear nothing of Priam;—during the whole period he had remained an inactive spectator. But had not his fears of the destructive Achilles predominated, he would certainly have ordered the gates to be thrown open, a body of troops to rush out, and an attempt at least to be made for the preservation of his fate-bound, terror-stricken son.

But another short digression must be made here, to show that to the poet was fully known a principle, which never has hitherto been sufficiently developed,—namely, that where there are two parties engaged in contest—one honest and honourable, the other dishonest and perfidious—the latter party never knows when *his* acts have assumed that character which renders it impossible for his honourable antagonist to place the slightest confidence in his words and actions, and which compels him to treat him as a party whom nothing but force can coerce. Such offender, however, when treated according to his deserts, never ceases to exclaim against the conduct of his antagonist, in thus enforcing the rules of common justice, according to the dictates of common sense. Thus the poet describes the Trojan king as totally unconscious of the change in the whole character of the war, which had been wrought by his own barefaced perfidy and perjury. He was not, according to the poet's account, aware that it had become internecine, and that the Achæan leaders no longer hoped for any settlement of the quarrel upon mutual terms of accommodation, but that the struggle had changed its character,

and had become, instead of an attempt to exact honourable satisfaction for wrong, a contest to the death for superiority. The system of sparing prisoners, and releasing them on receiving ransom, had passed away, as we read even in the sixth book, where Menelaus was prepared to act upon the same principles upon which the war internationally had been carried on before the act of perfidy. But Agamemnon severely rebuked his gentler brother for his proposed mercies, in the following stern address :—"O soft-hearted Menelaus, why trouble yourself for these men? Precious work have the Trojans perpetrated in your house! Let not a man of them escape impending destruction from our hands—not even the child in his mother's womb, should he be a male—but let all in Troy perish unmourned, and their memory be effaced."¹ This sentence of the commander-in-chief is ratified by the poet himself, who thus comments upon it :—"The warrior having thus spoken, changed his brother's purpose, as he advised him rightly." On the Homeric principle,² the penalty exigible for such perfidy was a heavy one,—the offenders were to expiate the crime at the expense of their own lives and the captivity of their wives and children. But Priam, according to the poet's account, was not aware of this change in the relative position of parties. He seems to have regarded it possible for him and his to trample under foot all the rules of international law, and at the same time to have expected the enemy to deal with him according to its gentlest forms between honourable opponents. Hence he says,—“Achilles has deprived me of many and gallant sons, both by slaying them and by selling them into foreign islands. And even now, since the Trojans have crowded into the city, I cannot see two of my sons, Lycaon and Polydorus, to whom the princely Lady Laothoë gave birth. But if they are alive in the Achæan camp, they shall be ransomed for gold and bronze; for there is

¹ *Iliad* vi. ver. 56.

² The truth of this principle was brought out unmistakeably by the late proceedings at Delhi.

abundance in my palace, as the renowned chief Altes gave a splendid dowry with his daughter."¹

There are other apparent anomalies in Priam's conduct, the consideration of which must be postponed for the present, but which will be more distinctly brought out hereafter; but I cannot close the present review of his character, without placing the "unsanctified" sorrow of this "Pagan" king in strong contrast with the more sanctified sorrow of the King of Nineveh, equally a Pagan. We have already seen the effect with which the announcement of the misfortunes impending over Nineveh was accompanied, in the true repentance of the king, nobles, and people of that mighty city. The contrast exhibited by Priam and his people and nobles is presented to us in a striking light by the Homeric poet:—"And they soon came to the palace of Priam, and there they found clamour and lamentation; the sons, sitting round their father within the court, were bedewing their garments with tears. But the aged king in the midst was enveloped in sackcloth, and his head and shoulders were densely covered with ashes, and he, rolling upon the ground, took them up with both his hands."²

Here we have all the outward signs of sorrow for the occurrence of a calamitous event, accompanied with long fasting upon Priam's own part, as afterwards mentioned—without a single expression of consciousness of sin—without a single allusion to the long train of iniquitous acts, of which that calamitous event had been the consequence. He displays all the outward acts of repentance, without giving a single sign that any correspondent change had taken place, either in his own mind or in that of his nobles and people.

Even the embassy personally undertaken to Achilles seems to me to have been described by the poet in admirable keeping with my portrait of Priam. That great and haughty king, who never would willingly have bowed his head to the embodied majesty of the king of men, voluntarily throws himself at the feet of the great warrior from whose hands he had suf-

¹ *Iliad* xx. ver. 43.

² *Iliad* xxiv. ver. 160.

fered so severely. But for the favour thus humbly sought, an ample recompense is proffered, and its acceptance by Achilles places the two heroes upon an equality; for much gratitude could not be due for a favour so dearly purchased. If anything could have softened the heart of the infatuated King of Troy, and have induced him to seek to avert from himself and people the evils which were immediately impending over them, it would have been the scene in the tent of Achilles. But he was not to be deterred from his purpose of resistance to the death: the only favour which he would condescend to ask from the softened Achilles was eleven days' truce, in order that the funeral honours might be duly paid to Hector's remains:—"On the twelfth day," adds the stern old warrior, "we will resume the contest, since fight we must." Achilles answered:—"Aged Priam, this shall be as you request; I will restrain the war according to your desire." Thus having spoken, in order that he might dissipate all his fears, he took the aged monarch by the right hand." But Priam would not trust even this solemn pledge; for on the eleventh day outposts were stationed on every side, lest the Achæans should suddenly assail them. One of the Alexandrian critics thus expresses himself on the foregoing passage:—"It was high generalship, and full of judicious foresight, to place no confidence in the truce, and not to expose the Trojans in disorder to their Achæan enemies." In my opinion the passage was inserted by Homer, in order to show that the faithless usually judge of others according to their own feelings, and that Priam did not appreciate the character of Achilles when he thus practically disclaimed confidence in the sacred promise of eleven days' truce, which he had received from the stainless warrior who never could have violated it.

The Homeric Priam, thus judged by his actions and sentiments, and not by his calm temper and gentle manners when unexcited, was a monarch of great wisdom and energy—but proud, wicked, and unjust in his royal capacity, and desperately obstinate to the last in his adherence to wrong, and

refusal to execute justice ; so that the poet justly placed the following condemnation both of him and his race in the mouth of a god :—

For now the son of Saturn hated Priam and his race,

“on account of the violation of the treaty,” says an Alexandrian critic : according to my estimate, in consequence of a long continuance in iniquitous courses.

Hector's character has, according to the reviewer, been also misrepresented by me. But by a curious fate, for which I certainly was not prepared, I am accused of having leaned too much to the side of mercy in judging him: “Judex damnatur, cum nocens absolvitur.” Hector, if we believe the reviewer, was “the real guide and governor of the nation,” and consequently to be regarded, “by the sound critic moralist,” as responsible “for the evils which the crime of his brother and family had brought down upon their heads.” The preceding observations will enable the reader to judge whether Hector was or was not, “the real guide and governor of the nation.” The reviewer's more than confirmation of the unfavourable view taken by me of Hector's character, makes me rather doubt, whether its lines were not drawn in too dark characters, especially as I have received more complaints and protests against the conclusion at which I arrived respecting his moral offences and delinquencies, and that from competent judges, than against any other doctrine in the *Homerus*. The writer, in order to fix upon me the charge of over-leniency in Hector's case, thus writes :—“‘This most unprincipled Hector is made to ‘free his soul from guilt,’ ‘and expiate his faults,’ by the strangest kind of deathbed repentance we have hitherto happened to read of—an attempt, namely, to drive a bargain, and a most unfair one, with Achilles, whom he was on the point of engaging, with scarcely a hope of success, to the effect, that if that hero will abstain from mutilating his corpse after death, he (Hector), if victorious, will treat the remains of Achilles with similar respect.’”¹ The reviewer then adds, in a

¹ *Review*, page 61.

note:—"The better to appreciate Mr. Williams's doctrine of Homeric responsibility, the reader is referred to his own text (p. 260) for an account of Hector's mode of honouring the remains of the 'sacred dead,' when without the fear, or rather the certainty, of his own death before his eyes." The passage from which the reviewer thinks himself justified in charging me with having said that Hector had *absolutely* "freed his soul from guilt," and "expiated his faults," runs thus. After describing the savage terms in which Achilles announced his intentions to maltreat the dead body of his foe, I added:—"The dying Hector, who, by promising to abstain from such useless barbarities, had freed his own soul from the guilt attendant upon his own indulgence in the same bad feelings on former occasions, was permitted to announce his approaching end to his ruthless vanquisher."¹ The expression, "expiated his faults," is taken from a very different passage, where Hector is said to have "expiated his faults by a condign punishment." Your review, Mr. Editor, ought not to be made the vehicle of such wilful representations, which reflect anything but credit on the author. He should have remembered also, that the same terms which were proposed by Hector to Achilles, respecting the treatment of the body of the vanquished, had been propounded by him, anterior to his "deathbed" scene, as the conditions of the combat between him and Ajax, the champion of the Achæans. He might have also remembered, that, however faulty Hector might have been in intentions, yet he had never mutilated a foeman's corpse, nor maltreated what I must still call the "sacred dead."

But the previous mistakes committed by me should, according to the reviewer, be regarded as trifling in comparison with the fatal error, the sad misconception, under the influence of which I have (should he be believed) misrepresented the character of the protagonist of the *Iliad*, "because Mr. Williams's theory had blinded him to the noblest element of the epic spirit of the *Iliad*;"² and because I had "systematically

¹ *Homerus*, p. 392.

² *Review*, p. 66.

subjected Achilles, equally with Agamemnon, to the degrading ascendancy of the demon Atè." The source of this blindness on my part is thus fairly and distinctly stated:—"It formed, in fact, a necessary element of the plan of confounding the profane with the sacred, developed in the *Homerus* of the Archdeacon, that the reign of Atè, the tempter to sin (Satan, as it were), should be universal, and equally exemplified without respect of persons in every class of human delinquency or delinquent. Such, however, is not the plan of the *Homerus* of the *Iliad*, who makes not the smallest allusion to the exercise of any such influence on the mind of Achilles. In his breast one mighty impulse drives out another; compassion gives place to wrath—wrath to grief and remorse—remorse to revenge—and, finally, revenge to mercy. But Atè has neither part or lot in the matter. We here state not a theory but a fact, which may be verified by an appeal to the text of the poem; so that when the Archdeacon talks of Achilles being 'under the domination of Atè'—'purifying himself from the stains of Atè'—he misinterprets Homer's text as broadly as he misunderstands the noblest creation of his muse." This assertion of the existence of a fact in opposition to my theory, is grounded upon the evidence adduced in the following passage:—"Out of the thirty-two occasions (inclusive of the cognate verb *αἶω*), on which the term is introduced in the *Iliad*, whether in an active or passive form, it has been used in no less than twenty-four with reference to the conduct of Agamemnon. The greatest proportion of these examples occur in his own speeches, where he appeals to her power in palliation of his own errors, according to the practice so familiar with Homer's heroes, of shifting the blame of their misconduct from their own shoulders to those of their objects of superstitious worship. Of the remaining eight occasions, it is used twice with reference to the rash valour of Patroclus as the immediate cause of his death, through the hostile agency of his divine enemy Apollo; once, in each case respectively, to characterise the crime or folly of five other personages,

Helen, Paris, Phœnix, Dolon, and Agastrophus ; and once, in a general sense, without reference to individuals." I assure you, Mr. Editor, that I should have been in very good company had I at once stated that the Homeric Atè was something very like the Scripture Satan, not with Crellius and his school, but with many ancient fathers, who could not account for the strong similarity between certain Homeric tenets and facts, and the Scripture statements, without the unwarranted assumption that he had copied them from Hebrew sources. In the words of the preface of Seberus :—"In the first place, there is in truth no moral virtue, nor any department of philosophy, of which you cannot deduce an example or a testimony from the Homeric poems. And our guides in this investigation are not only a numerous body of profane writers, as Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, Athenæus, and others, to whom may be added the proverb-compilers and mythologists of a still later age, but also not a few of the holy fathers of the Church, especially Justin Martyr and Clemens of Alexandria, who positively assert that Homer had transferred into his own work many passages from the Books of the Prophets ; and abundantly show this by examples, such as of the visible creation depicted on the shield of Achilles, of paradise typified by the gardens of Alcinoüs, and of the expulsion of Satan from heaven, indicated by the fable of Atè."

But, whatever my private opinions might have been, I had not advanced any opinion concerning the ultimate identity of Satan and Atè, nor asserted the universality of the reign of the latter demon. Had I made the latter assertion, it would have been authorized by the text of the *Iliad*, which extends the dominion of Atè over every region of the earth, and describes her as injuring all equally, whether gods or men. Phœnix, in laying down a series of moral truths for the consideration of Achilles, thus speaks :—"O Achilles, subdue your great spirit ; for you ought not to cherish a pitiless heart. Even the gods themselves, whose virtue, power, and honour, are so much greater, are themselves exorable, and men, after

transgressing and erring, turn away their anger by softening them with incense, gentle prayers and libations, and a sweet savour. For the Litæ are the daughters of mighty Zeus. They are lame, wrinkled, with eyes looking askance. These, following in the train of Atè, have their fixed duties to perform. Atè is vigorous and foot-sound; therefore she far outstrips them all, and precedes them in her destructive visits *to men in all regions of the earth*. But they, halting after her, endeavour to remedy the mischief. The daughters of Zeus greatly benefit the man who duly honours them when they visit him, and listen to his prayers; but should a man refuse and sternly reject their prayers, they then visit Zeus, the son of Cronus, and beseech him to allow Atè to overtake such a man, that, impeded in his course, he may pay the penalty."¹ This doctrine is further developed in Agamemnon's speech in the reconciliation scene:—"But I am not the cause, but Zeus and Moira, and Erinnyes who walks in darkness, who instilled wild Atè into my bosom in the assembly, on that day when I took away the reward of Achilles. But what could I do? the god accomplishes all things. Not of modern days is Atè, the daughter of Zeus, who *injuriously afflicts all men with blindness* (ἡ παντας αἰται). Pernicious is her course, and soft her tread, nor does she walk upon the ground, but over the heads of men, injuring mankind, and many a man she completely fetters. Nay more, she once blinded even Zeus, the most powerful of gods and men. But Hera, a female goddess, deceived even him."²

In translating the words Θεός δια πάντα τελευτα—πρεσβα Διός θυγατηρ Ατῆ, I have followed that reading and interpretation which to me seemed the best. Many of the Alexandrian critics refer the word Θεός to Atè, and make her the prime agent in the affairs of this world; one of them even divides δια into the two words δία, and thus explains the passage:—"Μία δὲ Θεός ἡ Ατῆ το πάντων ἐχει τέλος,"—the goddess Atè alone decides all things. This interpretation is pronounced

¹ *Iliad* ix. ver. 492.

² *Iliad* xix. ver. 91.

false by another Alexandrian authority, who adds :—" Atè has not all things at her disposal, as she has nothing to do with the distribution of blessings."

Atè and the Litæ were equally the daughters of Jove, and contrary duties were assigned to them in a mythology which did not acknowledge an evil principle in opposition to the sole sovereignty of the father of gods and men; consequently they are but another illustration of the truth depicted in the following classic passage from the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad* :—"Two jars lie at the threshold of Zeus; the one is full of the evils—the other, of the blessings of life." The expulsion of Atè from heaven, and her visit to the ground cultivated by man, and the sorrowful sympathy with which Zeus contemplated the evils, struggles, and death of his beneficent son, have no necessary connection with the present inquiry.

But I cannot prevent myself from expressing surprise that the reviewer, undoubtedly a clever man, should, with these passages before him, have perilled the truth of his whole system in opposition to mine, upon the assertion, or rather supposition, that it could have been compatible with the poet's doctrine to display a human being in a complete state of exemption from the "ascendency of Atè, and as guilty of serious offences against the moral law, in which Atè had neither part nor lot." Surely the Homeric Achilles was not superior to the Homeric Zeus? The very supposition of such superiority would be Homeric blasphemy. Nor can I sufficiently admire the self-sufficient coolness with which the reviewer blames me for inferring that Achilles had fallen under the dominion of the same demon who had gained a momentary victory over Zeus himself.

That my inference was neither rash nor novel, is evident from the following commentary of an Alexandrian critic on the words, "injuring mankind, and many a man she completely fetters." The critic thus comments :—"Some, by a violent perversion of the meaning, suppose that Agamemnon

Alexandrian critic observes most justly:—"Phoenix speaks out, but with diffidence, and prays that a great evil may not befall Achilles."

The effect of this judicial blindness is most clearly indicated by the utter oblivion ascribed to the vindictive warrior, of an important prediction communicated by his mother; according to which, the bravest of his myrmidons was to fall in battle, even during his own lifetime—a prediction which, if Achilles had remembered at the proper time, would have certainly prevented him from exposing his dear friend, alone and unaccompanied by himself, to the dangers of war.

The "primitive moralist" of the *Iliad* found no difficulty in drawing the line between "just resentment" and "implacable wrath," as is evident from the representation of the feelings not only of Phoenix and Patroclus—one the calm, the other the chivalrous, friend of the inexorable son of Peleus—but of the very body of the myrmidons, to whose coarser principles revenge would naturally appear a more glorious characteristic. "Yet," according to the poet, "every one of them blamed him, and said, 'Obdurate son of Peleus, your mother assuredly nursed you with gall. O merciless man, seeing you retain at the ships your reluctant companions.'"¹ To what else, especially when we take into consideration the severe punishment with which his inexorable spirit was overtaken, except the influence of Atè, could such singular obstinacy be ascribed? A person who had not carefully studied both sides of the character of the Protagonist of the *Iliad*, might be tempted to agree with the following very one-sided representation:—"Achilles spurned the proffers of more than justice, of more even than friendship—rejected the counsels of those who had cherished his infancy, and imprecated ruin and death upon all his friends and comrades." Again:—"No one but a most attentive reader can discern the almost diabolical character of that perjured and vindictive traitor the Homeric Achilles." Such undoubtedly was not the character of the Protagonist of

¹ *Iliad* xvi. 200.

the *Iliad*, in its real features ; but all these harsh terms might justly be applied to him when labouring under the temporary influence of Atë.

The reviewer, who denies this fact, appears to me to have never comprehended the ethical system developed in the *Iliad*, and to be himself labouring under a state of judicial blindness. Even the miserable loophole which he has wrought out for himself, in order to allow him to escape from the numerous difficulties of his false position, will not avail him.

The poet, in the passage in which he says, " Even I have not ventured to misinterpret," clearly testifies that Achilles was labouring under a Jove-sent Atë. After Agamemnon had, with all due ceremonies, sworn that Briseïs had been treated with scrupulous delicacy while an inmate of his quarters, and had imprecated curses upon his own head were this not the truth, Achilles arose and said :—" O Father Zeus, assuredly you give great Atæ to men : were it not for that, Atreides would never so utterly have roused the spirit within my breast, nor would he have led away the maiden against my will ; but Zeus, whom nothing can resist, evidently willed the death of many Achæans."¹ The dominion of the daughter of Zeus is here described as equally extending over Agamemnon in inflicting the injury, and over Achilles in imagining such injury to be much greater than it was ; and consequently in fostering a resentment disproportionate to the real provocation.

The only Alexandrian critic whose observations upon this passage have been transmitted to us, seems to have understood the passage as I have expressed it. His words are :—" Achilles having given full credence to the king's purity of character with respect to Briseïs, owing to the solemn nature of his oath, refers the cause of his anger to the gods." This is, after all, " but an immoral and antinomian apology for the violence and corruption of men's hearts." But it should be remembered, that such imputation of evil to the Deity is in the Homeric poems always made by the offenders themselves,

¹ *Iliad* xix. ver. 270.

never by the poet, nor placed in the mouth of any god as the expounder of the law.

But the author of the *Iliad* has placed Achilles before our eyes in other striking positions, from which we can infer the extent of the domination exercised by Atè over his spirit. Without entering at full length into the investigation at the present time, it will be sufficient to appeal to his merciless treatment of the Trojan suppliants in the field—to his haughty boasts over his fallen foes—to the complacent feelings with which he contemplates the picture of the voracious inhabitants of the deep banqueting on the flesh of his victims—and especially to the expression of his foul wish to pollute the whole fair-flowing stream of the Xanthus with the corpses of the warriors who had been born and bred on its banks. The poet describes Achilles as struggling against the powers of nature, and as thoroughly vanquished by them, were it not for the intervention of his guardian deities. This chapter in the *Iliad* has never yet been worthily analyzed, nor the important truths to be deduced from it placed before the public eye. There is something inexpressibly striking in the vain efforts made by the indomitable Protagonist of the Homeric drama against the swelling violence of a mountain torrent, in the hopeless struggle of the mightiest, swiftest, and most energetic man-hero against the power of the wild elements once let loose. The result of this contest is summed up briefly in the following words of Achilles when baffled in the struggle:—
“O Father Zeus, then no one of the gods undertakes to save me in my compassion-deserving state from the river; and what I may suffer next, I know not. But of all the heavenly deities, no one is so much to be blamed by me as my own mother, who infatuated me by her falsehoods. She said that I was to perish under the wall of the breastplate-wearing Trojans by the swift-flying arrows of Apollo. Would that Hector, the bravest of the Trojans, had slain me! In such a case a brave man would have been the slayer, and would have despoiled a brave man. But now I am destined, enclosed by

this great torrent, to be overtaken by a sorry death, like a swine-herding child swept away while crossing a storm-swollen current."

Closely connected with this subject is the review of the moral character of Achilles when tested by an appeal to the Homeric code of laws, according to which the bodies of the slain were to be treated. The principles of this code must be examined carefully before they be applied to particular cases.

In the *Paschal Chronicle*,¹ we find a curious division of the human race, which is supposed to have taken place at some uncertain period after the flood, into Scythism, Hellenism, and Judaism; "and these," adds the author, "are the decided and renowned mothers of all heresies." It would be useless to insert here a long dissertation upon the probable origin of the division. I shall, therefore, adopt it as enabling me, while throwing Judaism out of consideration, to describe certain doctrines concerning the treatment of dead enemies, as peculiar to Scythism on the one hand, and to Hellenism on the other. It would also be equally useless to swell this short essay, by elaborately proving that, perhaps even from the days of Nimrod, there existed a strong and vigorous sect, which became the mother of many nations—which assumed force as the only test of rightful supremacy—erected the naked sword to the honours of divinity—honoured it with human sacrifices, especially at the funeral obsequies of a leading chief—and did not always escape the suspicion of partaking of the flesh and blood of the victim.

Of this sect, both in Asia and Europe, the Scythians were the meet representatives. These, and their co-sectaries, whether Persians or Parthians, Germans or Celts, treated the dead bodies of their slain enemies with useless contumely, and barbarous mutilation and exposure.

It is not my intention to enter into an elaborate proof of this fact, but will take it for granted that the Scythians, as

¹ Page 42.

described by Herodotus, used to scalp their war-captives—to use these same scalps, when tanned, as hand-napkins—to gibbet the naked skulls—or, as among the Celts and Scandinavians, to use them as drinking cups—to make pyramids of these same heads, like the Scythians of the East, or like savages of a similar school in Western Europe—to spike and erect them as graceful ornaments over the most public gateways and bridges. In strong contrast with the Scythian was, on this point, the Hellenic school of doctrine. Its tenets were so mild and so pure, that we, the Christians of modern Europe, have, even to this day, been unable to persuade ourselves that its very mildness ought not to be ascribed to a morbid state of feeling, rather than to the dictates of a wisdom superior to our own. Hence it is, that although the whole tragic drama of Athens is deeply impregnated with the spirit of the doctrine, we find it difficult to sympathize with the milder and purer spirits even of the Ajax and Antigone of Sophocles. For a proof of the deep impression wrought by this doctrine upon the national mind of Greece, I need but briefly refer to the exaggerated form which its spirit assumed in that sad record of superstitious zeal, wickedly directed, which ended in the legal murder of those Athenian generals who had unavoidably left their fallen warriors to the mercy of the winds and waves.

Still more impressive, from the simplicity with which it is recorded, is Xenophon's testimony regarding the horror with which any violation of the dead body was regarded. He argues from the fact that Artaxerxes had mutilated the corpse of his own full brother, by cutting off his head and right hand, and gibbeting them, that no mercy could be expected by those mercenaries who had assisted Cyrus, and that they must resist to the death. Even when, under unexampled provocation, the soldiers of the Anabasis had mutilated, in order to terrify their pursuers, the bodies of the slain, the pupil of Socrates tells us "that such mutilation was perpetrated without orders, and that it was a spontaneous act of the soldiers."

The Homeric doctrine is clearly expressed in that passage of the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses says to Euryclea, "You will be impious should you boast over the slain."¹ "Ye gods," says Apollo in the Olympian assembly, "you favour the destructive Achilles, who has no equitable feelings, nor an exorable spirit within his bosom, but is savage as a lion, which, relying on his great strength and impetuous courage, assails the flocks of men, that he may devour them. Thus Achilles is without mercy, and without any sense of shame, * * * and, after depriving him of life, drags the noble Hector at his chariot-wheels round the tomb of his friend. This will not, however, prove either honourable or advantageous to him, and let him beware lest he excite our indignation, for in his rage he is treating with contumely the senseless clod."² According to an observation of an Alexandrian critic, the poet uses *αἰνίζει* for *ὕβρις*; but *αἰνία* is not only *ὕβρις*, but also *το αἰσχος*. This contumelious conduct of Achilles is still more emphatically condemned by Jupiter himself, who thus addresses Thetis:—"Go to the camp, and tell your son that the gods are angry with him, and I above all the immortals, because with frantic spirit he retains Hector at the ships, and has not restored him for ransom."³ An Alexandrian critic thus accounts for the strong expression, *μαινόμενῳ φρεσὶ*, in the following terms:—"To treat senseless bodies with contumely is a characteristic of 'Mania.'" The poet as strongly disapproved, in his own words, of all the Scythistic acts of Achilles, and characterized them by a stronger word than *ὕβρις*, which he applied to the maltreatment which Agamemnon, under the dominion of Atê, had inflicted upon Achilles. When this victorious warrior, who had previously, as in the case of Eetion and his sons, treated his fallen foes with the honours due to the dead, for the first time polluted his hands by injurious mutilation of the "senseless clod," Homer observes—"Then Achilles prepared to inflict contumelious treatment upon the noble Hector."⁴ And it was when

¹ *Odyssey* xxi. ver. 410.

² *Iliad* xxiv. ver. 39.

³ *Iliad* xxiv. ver. 113.

⁴ *Iliad* xxi. ver. 303.

the father had seen the results of this preparation, and the dead body of his son dangling after the chariot-wheels of his conqueror, that he called Achilles *ατασθαλος*, not for chasing his panic-stricken son round the walls of Troy—not for slaying him in combat, but for this contumelious treatment of the dead, hitherto unprecedented on the part of Achilles. Still stronger is the poet's own language when describing the truly Scythian funeral with which Achilles honoured his slain friend. It was not sufficient to send his horses and dogs as his companions in death. Twelve gallant sons of high-spirited Trojans captured in battle, and spared for the time, were also inhumanly slaughtered, and cast upon the funeral pile—deeds which Homer justly pronounces "evil." Now, to suppose that a Homeric warrior, thus described by gods and men as "pernicious," "without mercy," "without shame," "frantic with rage," and contumelious in words, and "evil" in his deeds, was not under the dominion of the Homeric Atè, is "a vain and foud imagination," and is a proof that the reviewer has totally mistaken the ethical system developed in the *Iliad*, and must be himself labouring under something very like the influence of Atè.

With this observation I draw my remarks to a conclusion, but would, before closing, call the attention not only of yourself, Mr. Editor, and of your contributors, but of the rising generation of classical scholars, to a fact which, as it seems to me, does not appear to be duly appreciated in the learned world,—that the day of mere verbal scholarship has passed away—that the emendators of the text, and the expurgators of false readings, have had their day, both of utility and renown—that even a Bentley cannot have an everlasting vocation in the limited circle of ancient literature,—and that the present demand, the article most needed and least supplied, is a judicious and learned exegesis of the generally received text—and that this art or, rather, science is as yet but in its infancy.

You will pardon me for complacently expressing my own

opinion, that the publication of my *Homerus* was a movement in advance of the scholarship of the age, and that it opens a wide field for future wholesome investigations.

Even since I have been an unprofitable labourer in the cause, the symptoms of a rapid progress, especially in the schools of Germany, have been marked. I devoutly hope that the science may advance from strength to strength, until it may be successfully applied to the full development of the wonderful, and yet most merciful, system of God's dealing with man—a system revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures in words, and which, beginning with Adam in the garden of Eden, ends with the establishment of the Church of Christ, God's own garden, upon earth.

Erasmus, when once a copy of the New Testament in Greek had been fairly committed to the press, said, in the spirit of the highest wisdom, "Henceforth our business is to ascertain the real meaning of this precious book." Little, however, has been done from that day to this, to carry the plan of Erasmus into systematic execution. The work is yet to be done.

For the full perfection of the exegetic development of God's own truth, I look upon the Homeric poems as necessary materials. In them we see combined the might and weakness of man—his intellect in unrivalled vigour, his inherited principles sound, his moral sense delicate,—and yet all unavailing for the preservation of the truth; the moral sense vanished, and the strong intellect degenerated into drivelling superstition or bold blasphemy.

'The same Providence which selected the Greek language for the channel of the most precious communications between God and man, also preserved for our use the older forms of that language, "that we might the more fully understand the words and sentences in which God's will is embodied." "What but the power of Providence has blunted the scythe of the destroyer, and handed down these volumes, not, like the Scriptures, exempt from interpolations, but preserved, like them, from the curtailment of an iota?"

Aspice Mæonidem a quo seu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquæ.

The radical difference between the school of which I am an unworthy disciple, and the school of which, upon this subject, the *Edinburgh Review* is a very Coryphæus, seems to me to be this,—that I hold that the first man, as an intellectual, moral, and spiritual being, as far as the spiritual work could be performed on earth, had nothing to learn from experience; that as a labourer in the struggle against matter, and in subduing the earth, he had almost everything to learn; and that our triumphs over the material world—triumphs daily obtained—will never give us individually more intellectual, moral, and spiritual principles, than were possessed by him;—that your school, on the contrary, expects new truths to be discovered in this same field, from modern experience, and that the “spirit of the age” is indeed a light from Heaven, which, trusting to its own inductions, may be assumed by us as a sure guide, superseding Moses, the prophets, and patriarchs, and be proclaimed as the gospel of the nineteenth century.

This “spirit of the age” is no gospel, but embodies a great truth,—that, materially, we are fulfilling our vocation, and “subduing and replenishing the earth;” but, intellectually, morally, and spiritually speaking, we derive no benefit from the great triumphs of modern art. Excitement, encouragement, and enlarged power for diffusing the blessings of “the knowledge from above,” we undoubtedly do derive,—and may God grant us his grace to render our triumphs over matter subservient to the spread of the truth, as embodied, first, in the traditions of the patriarchs, then typified and foretold by Moses and the prophets, and finally developed in the “everlasting gospel.”

Farewell, Mr. Editor; and believe me when I say, that I would not have used your name as a handle to this pamphlet, were it not for the hope that many might wish to see what

might be said against your review, who would not trouble themselves with any explanation which, without the use of such a name, I might adduce.

I have the honour to be

Yours respectfully,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

EDINBURGH ACADEMY,

July, 1843.

THE ANTIQUITY OF CELTIC COINS.

AN inquiry into the antiquity of Celtic Coins during the ante-Roman period, cannot be better commenced than with the decision concerning them pronounced by Edward Hawkins, Esq., Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum, who thus speaks upon the subject:—

“The nature of the money circulated in this island among its earliest inhabitants has been involved in much obscurity; and of the numerous writers who have undertaken to discuss the subject, all have ended their labours by an acknowledgment that they could not satisfactorily arrive at any definite expression of opinion.

“If we were to believe the interpretation commonly put upon that passage from Cæsar which every author has quoted, we should confess, that previously to his arrival there was not anything which could fairly be called money, but that the dealings of the people were conducted by means of barter, aided by brass or iron rings adjusted to a certain weight. This passage is the only one which bears directly on the subject before us; and it unfortunately is perplexed with a variety of readings much more numerous than any other passage throughout his whole work. His editors not understanding the subject, and misled perhaps with the idea, that, as the inhabitants of this island were considered barbarians, they could not possess an established currency, have selected from all the readings the one probably the most incorrect. By so doing they have made Cæsar declare that which there is now every reason to believe was untrue, and contrary to that which, in all probability, he really intended to assert.

“There is in the British Museum a beautiful MS. of Cæsar, of about the tenth century, which reads the passage thus :—
‘utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.’

“The reading is confirmed by several other manuscripts, while some vary only very slightly ; and it may, perhaps, be safely asserted, that every manuscript expressly mentions the use of money, either gold or copper, as prevailing among the Britons. It is only about the middle of the seventeenth century that the editors of Cæsar (Scaliger taking the lead) corrupted the passage, and made that writer assert that only substitutes for money were used by the natives. Facts all tend to prove the general correctness of the MSS. and the errors of the editors. For coins of gold, sometimes of silver, and more rarely of copper, are found occasionally in various parts of the island, which, from their form, fabric, and type, cannot have been constructed upon any model introduced subsequent to the establishment of the Romans in Britain. The money of that people is rather thin, quite flat ; and such would undoubtedly have been the form of British money, had it been first made after the arrival of the Romans. It is, however, on the contrary, thick and disked exactly after the manner of the Grecian coins, and the types are such as appear to have derived their origin from Macedon. That the coins commonly called British have a Greek origin, is beyond all doubt ; that they were struck in this island is also certain, because they are frequently discovered here, and not in any other country ; and there is no period in its history when such coins could have been introduced after the arrival of the Romans. The cause appears probably to have been, that, either from commercial visits of the Phœnicians or through the communications which must have taken place between Britain and Gaul, Grecian coins became known in this island, and were coarsely imitated by native artists. These were executed with various degrees of want of skill, till the intercourse with the Romans improved the workmanship ; and as this becomes

apparent, upon the coins Roman letters are introduced. Under Cunobeline, British coins attained their greatest perfection, and then finally disappeared; for the Roman power became established in this country, and Roman coins became the only circulating medium.

"In conclusion, it may be safely asserted, that previous to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, in the year 55 A.C., and before the Roman dominion was generally established throughout the island, the Britons had a metallic currency of struck coin upon a Grecian model. Julius Cæsar himself, when correctly read and interpreted, asserts the fact; and the actual discovery of coins in various parts of the island unequivocally confirms it."—Page 8.

The work of Henry Noel Humphries on Ancient Coins (page 56) contains some opinions which cannot easily be harmonized with any existing system, nor indeed satisfactorily with each other. He teaches, in unison with the best authorities on the subject, that the first money in circulation consisted in pieces of metal of a fixed weight, without bearing any stamp; but when it was found in practice, that such pieces did not always correspond with each other, certain kings, states, and communities, affixed to them a stamp representing some symbol revered as sacred by such authorities, and originally, that only one face of the coin received the impression, while the reverse was merely disfigured by the mark of the punch, which was used to keep the piece of metal in its place while it was being hammered down into the die. That the more ancient coins, whether Lydian or Grecian, are all of this character, and that coins inscribed with letters, whether single, double, or triple, were not equally ancient. Yet, when he comes to speak of Celtic coins, he thus expresses his opinions:—

"I, therefore, speak here only of such Gaulish coins as may be considered native. It appears that the art of coinage, finding its way northwards through Macedonia and Thrace, must have, at a very early period, found its way into Transalpine

Gaul, and even Switzerland, a few rude coins being known which appear to be barbarous copies of the early Grecian coinage, at the time when an impression was only produced on one side, the other being occupied by the mark of the rude punch, by the blow of which the impression had been produced on the obverse. Some gold British coins belonging to the same early mode of fabric, inasmuch as they have only one perfect side, have recently been discovered. The early coins of Gaul have lately occupied much of the attention of French archæologists, and considerable light is likely to be thrown by their aid upon the state of the country previous to the appearance of the Romans. From recent researches it would seem that the ancient Gaulish coins do not all present mere copies of Grecian or, rather, Macedonian types, as had been previously taught, but that coins of a strictly national character also existed of many varieties, and that these are found as far north as Holland. * * * Some of an earlier date present the curious mode of fabric peculiar to some of the coins of Magna Græcia; that is to say, the incused back, or the same subject struck in hollow at the back that appears in relief on the front. One such is described in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1842 (page 165), which must belong to a period at least four, if not five, centuries previous to the Christian era."

According to the theory of Mr. Hawkins, the Gaulish coins of the best formation were imitations of the gold staters of Philip the Second, the son of Amyntas and father of Alexander the Great, which were probably introduced in abundance into Gaul in consequence of the victorious conquests in Thrace and Greece of those Gauls who invaded the East at the close of the third century before Christ. That these imitations, becoming gradually worse and worse in the hands of native artists, passed over from Gaul into Britain, where they were copied by still inferior artists, who eventually struck such coins as only bore a remote likeness to the Macedonian type, but pre-

senting undoubted marks of original identity to the practised eye of the numismatic connoisseur.

In support of this theory, he selected certain specimens of British coinage from the collection of coins in the British Museum, and had them engraved in his work.

The first specimen chosen for this purpose is a gold coin, thus described by Mr. Hawkins :—

Ob. A horse with various ornaments.—*Rev.* Convex, plain, 96 grains. This coin was found in Kent. There is little doubt but that a biga is intended to be represented, copied, each worse than its predecessor, from the gold coins of Philip of Macedon." (Coin No. 1.)

On the contrary, should I be guided by my own judgment, and by observation of those marks which are laid down by the best authorities as our best guides in ascertaining the relative antiquity of coins, I should at once pronounce that the British coin must be referred to a much earlier period than that of Philip of Macedon. The convex or gibbous form of the reverse, the want on it of all impressions, and, above all, the absence of letters, seem to point out that era in Britain when it was not deemed lawful to consign any words, however sacred, to the custody of letters.

When I add, that the supposed figure of the biga is partly made up of symbols which, both separately and conjointly, are found on various other coins both in Britain and Gaul, it becomes very probable that the intention of the artist was to produce certain symbols emblematic of some mysterious doctrines of his countrymen, rather than to imitate the biga of a Macedonian artist. His eyes were too familiar with the war-chariot of his people to suppose that he could successfully represent it by the fragments of a figure which might be composed into the form of a horse: such a horse has come down to our own times, in the well-known fragmentary delineation on a chalk surface, which is commonly called the Yorkshire White Horse.

I do not deny that certain ancient coins found in France,

and believed to be the work of native artists, are undoubted imitations of the Philippian stater; but I cannot allow the reasonableness of the argument by which it is attempted to be proved that the British coins, which bear the strongest marks of a high antiquity, owe their origin to such imitations imported at some unknown period into Britain.

These coins, of which a very large deposit was discovered in Carnbré, in Cornwall, and of which Dr. Borlase has described several gold specimens which had fallen into his hands, seem especially British in character, and to have imitated some ancient Greek prototype in the fineness of the material, and its circular form, size, and weight. But hitherto no attempt of a successful nature has been made to classify British coins, and still less success is likely to attend any future attempt, as long as the numismatic world is content to accept as decisive the following conclusions:—

1. That the most barbarously executed British coins are for the most part the latest.

2. That, if the Britons had a coinage of their own previously to the arrival of Cæsar, the fact is not proved by existing examples.

The French writers, who have within the last twenty years laboured so diligently and successfully in the numismatic field, have had to struggle with difficulties natural from the triple source whence various Gaulish coins took their origin. First, from the Phœcean colony at Massilia, which has left numerous specimens of its mintage from the time of its foundation down to the Roman imperial rule. The coins ascribed to Massilia by the best French authorities are divided into several epochs. Those supposed to have been the earliest are all of silver, having their reverses marked merely by “rude cavities” or rude indented squares, and without any lettered inscriptions. The favourite types are seals, lions, griffins, and heads assigned to the Ephesian Diana. These may be fairly deemed representatives of the coinage of the mother city at the time of the foundation of the colony. The second source was the Macc-

donian mintage of Philip of Macedon, whose gold coin with a laurelled head of Apollo, having for its reverse a biga and the driver, served as the favourite model which Gallic artists strove in vain to copy accurately. The third source was the Roman denarius, being the well-known consular or family coins, which, after the establishment of the province in the south-eastern part of Gaul, became current there, and were naturally imitated by the neighbouring states.

In consequence of the difficulties arising from this triple source, Mr. Lambert, keeper of the Public Library at Bayeux, and an esteemed numismatician, wrote, some twelve years ago, an essay on the subject, in which he confined his researches to the ancient coins of the north-west of France. He states, at the commencement of the essay, that it was his intention to confine himself to "the types and classification of Armorican coins, and also of some others, which have been found for the most part between the Seine and the Loire—an area within which are principally to be found those coins so remarkable for dimensions and a character which clearly place a distinction between them and all other coins."

Acting within this confined sphere, Mr. Lambert believes that he can establish three distinct periods of coinage among the Armorican nations, which he thus classifies:—

First period, placed by him about 300 B.C., and which he extends to the year 278 B.C. He divides this very short period into three classes.

The second period commences with the imitation of the Macedonian stater, and is extended to the year 100 B.C. He divides this period into four distinct classes, during the third of which he supposes what he calls the Armorican Coin system, to have been established. This system is characterized by the figure of the Androcephalous horse, a symbol peculiar to the states placed within this limited area. The coins of these two periods are what he calls Mute, that is, have no letters inscribed upon them.

The third period, commencing with the year 100 B.C., ex-

tends to the abolition of all Gallic coinage under Tiberius, and is called by him the Epigraphic period, during which the Roman influence began to prevail, and finally introduced the Denarial system, and the letters commonly called Latin. Mr. Lambert concludes his essay in the following manner :—

“ Mr. Lelewel, in his curious and scientific work, has clearly brought out one remarkable and astonishing fact, that among the mass of the known epigraphic coins, the produce of three hundred states, there are only forty localities which are inscribed at length. Some coins present abbreviations, showing only first letters or syllables ; about a dozen of these abbreviations have been explained, and, if you add the names of Greek cities in the south of Gaul, there will still be found the names of only sixty localities, out of the immense number of nations, states, cities, towns, and cantons. The religious influence of the Druids had thus smitten with their own muteness the whole Gallic coinage, up to its very termination.

“ It is evident,” continues Mr. Lambert, “ that inscribed coins were imported from Greece, and implanted in Southern Gaul, by the colonists who had settled there. Certain towns began to inscribe in Greek characters their own name. These inscriptions received successive modifications up to the time when the introduction of Roman coins became common, and the Greek were replaced by Latin inscriptions. It was never intended in this work to follow up in detail all the changes in Gallic epigraphy ; those who wish to make these a particular study should have recourse to the work of the distinguished Pole quoted by me. It is full of rich research, and of luminous views worthy of the deepest attention.

“ My mission is not so general, because the country which I had principally to explore is that portion of Gaul which on this point is darkest of all, as the *Tractus Armoricanus* is the abode of silence and the most complete mutism. In fact, with the exception of some states situated near the mouth of the Seine, who inscribed their names upon their money, it is impossible to produce any inscribed coins which can be re-

ferred to the occupiers of Armorica as far south as the mouth of the Loire. Coins bearing the name of the people have never been found among the Viducasses, the Biocasses, the Unelli, the Abrincates, the Redones, the Curiosolites, the Osismii, the Corisopites, the Veneti, and the Namnites. The very small number of inscribed coins to be found in this country belong either to other districts or to unknown Gallic chiefs.

"It necessarily results, from a fact so well proved by the numerous discoveries of mute pieces in gold and electrum, in silver or bullion, made at various epochs within the limits of ancient Armorica, that this province never admitted inscriptions on their coins. The money which circulated among these nations during the third must have been coined in the course of the second period. The long-continued currency of the coins, notwithstanding the vigour of the impression and the durability of the material, is sufficiently indicated by the worn state of most of the specimens."

The striking fact thus brought to light by Mr. Lambert, of the persistence of the Armorican states in abstaining from the use of letters on their coins at the time when so many of the other Gallic states, and even the "veteres Galli" of Central Gaul, had violated the Druidical tradition, and adopted lettered inscriptions, proves the singular tenacity with which the occupiers of those regions adhered to their national faith and observances, and refused to become Roman provincials. It also proves that the abstinence from the use of inscriptions did not arise from a want of acquaintance with alphabetical characters, but from the policy which Cæsar so distinctly ascribes to the Druids—of reserving to their own order all literary knowledge.

Now, it is to be remembered that the Veneti whom Cæsar found in possession of the Armorican *ἡγεμονία* were a people far advanced in the arts of peace, workers in metal so skilful that they used as cables chains of wrought iron, and carried on a widely extended commerce between the Continent and

Great Britain, in ships admirably constructed for the purpose of surmounting the dangers of a boisterous ocean, with its rapid tides and deceitful currents.

When we see that a people, who, from their commercial habits, must have had a familiar knowledge of both the Roman and Greek alphabet, persisted so obstinately in refusing to impress them upon their public monuments, one is tempted to believe that other nations, better known to us from earlier ages, might have been induced, by other causes than the non-possession of an alphabet, to act in accordance with a similar policy, and to pursue similar practices.

Croesus was thoroughly conversant with letters, and could order despatches, sealed and written, to be conveyed to him at Sardis from distant localities, and yet not a single letter is visible on any of the Lydian coins, ascribed either to him or his ancestors. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, is known to have recorded on the rocks of Upper Asia, many of his great achievements; but on the coins called after his name, and which are supposed to have been intended for circulation among his Hellenic subjects in Lower Asia, no inscription is to be found. To come nearer to the point: all the earliest coins of Athens, Thebes, and Ægina, &c., are unlettered; and even the coins of Massilia, assigned by the French numismatists to the first epoch, are as silent and mute as the specimens of the Armorican mint; and, as the earliest pieces of the colony of Massilia were not lettered, it may safely be inferred that the first coins of the mother city Phocœa were in a similar condition.

Even granting that the gold pieces of Central Gaul were generally imitations of the Macedonian stater, it must be admitted that the officers of the Armorican mints, while borrowing the biga, resolutely rejected the letters which formed so conspicuous a feature on the reverse of the Philippus, and thus kept to the last their coins in a state of Druidical purity.

The same Armoricans distinguished themselves above all members of the Gallic race, by the preservation of the mega-

lithic structures with which their peninsula is studded, and which remain to this day, imperishable monuments of the skill and power of their ancestors.

The men who built them entered Gaul on its ocean side, and gradually spread inland, by following the course of the Seine and Loire up to their sources. Each bank of both rivers, and the space enclosed within them, together with the whole maritime coast from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Somme, include, almost without exception, all the megalithic structures in Gaul worthy of inspection.

One of the strongest contrasts presented by history is in the different fate which attended the efforts of the Greeks to settle themselves in the Eastern and the Western world. In the West they established colonies in times long anterior to the commencement of profane history, and, while developing Hellenic characteristics, covered Italy Proper and Sicily with cities whose wealth, population, and civilization, were immeasurably superior to all that the inhabitants of the Vale of the Tiber, and of the Seven Hills of Rome, could display; and yet, within a period comparatively short, they, as it were, miraculously lost their superiority, and finally ceased to exercise any direct influence on the fate of the Western world. In the East, on the contrary, after a long and unequal struggle with the powerful dynasty of the Persian Achæmenidæ, they not only regained the ascendancy which they had partially lost, but actually conquered, and so completely Hellenized, the whole of Asia west of the Euphrates, that, when the seat of the Roman government was transferred from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosphorus, the Romans became, first in character and language, and finally in name, also Greeks, who still have sufficient life and activity to disturb, if not to rule, the world.

Far too much influence in the history of the Western world has been attributed to the establishment in the south of Gaul, of the Phocæan colonies, who never succeeded in spreading their settlements from the maritime districts to any locality

distant from the shores. In fact, had not the Romans, for political reasons, taken them under their own protection, they must have succumbed under the attacks of the neighbouring nations, to whom they were unequal in the open field.

The entrance of Roman armies into that department of Gaul, about a century and a half B.C., the settlement of Roman colonies at Aquæ Sextiæ, Narbo Martius, and Nemausus, together with the reduction of the whole country into the form of a province, cut off Massilia from all actual contact with the inland states, and brought the Romans into close connection with the Arverni and the Ædui, who not only claimed to be, but were permitted to call themselves, "brothers and kinsmen" of the Roman people.

The effect of this closer intercourse upon Gallic institutions, and even on their religious practices, was seen in the emission, both by individuals and by states, of coins bearing legends in manifest violation of a Druidical canon. Mr. Lambert supposes that this practice commenced about 100 B.C.; Mr. Lelewel would wish to place the introduction of the novelty some half a century sooner. It must have accompanied, or soon followed, the rejection of the Greek and the adoption of the Roman money system, as the standard of the circulating medium in Gaul. But the instances do not seem to have been numerous before the arrival of Julius Cæsar in Gaul, who, during his ten years of command, despoiled the people not only of their liberty and independence, but of their national faith and religion, for which, however, he had nothing better to substitute. Most of the inscribed coins discovered in France are assigned either to contemporaries of the great Gallic conqueror, or to their successors in the next age; a few may belong to an earlier generation or two. Letters on coins were adopted in Gallia Proper by the Arverni, Ædui, Sequani, Helvetii, the Turones, the Andecavi, the three tribes named Auleri, the Caletes, the Vellocasses, the Lexovii; and in Belgium, by the Atrebatæ, Eburones Mediomatrici, the Nervii,

and the Treveri. Of these, the Caletes alone have inscriptions, both in Greek and Latin characters.

Now, it is not very natural to believe that the ancient Britons, who have left such abundance of coins, both inscribed and free from any letter, whether Greek or Latin, should have reversed the process followed by all other nations, and have commenced with inscribed, and have terminated with mute specimens—have begun with the more perfect, and ended with the rudest forms.

This theory cannot be true; we must, therefore, wait until the British coins—both published and unpublished, both inscribed and uninscribed—are placed before us in a more intelligible form than they are at present. There is every reason to believe that the Armorican communities were closely connected with the South-Western Britons, in blood, language, and religion, and that the latter sympathized with their continental kinsmen in their aversion to adopt inscriptions on their coins, which, nevertheless, in an unlettered state, might have circulated amongst them from a very early age.

The inscribed coins of Britain may perhaps have all been struck subsequent to the first invasion of the Romans; for had it been the practice in the time of Cassivelaunus to inscribe the names of chiefs upon the coins, we should naturally expect to find his name still visible; but it does not appear on any well-authenticated piece. The same is the case with the Suession Divitiacus, who, as we are told by Cæsar, was in a preceding age king paramount over some parts of Great Britain.

Probably letters were first inscribed on British coins by Commius, the Atrebatian, the friend and king client of Cæsar, who had intimate relations with his Belgian kinsmen in Britain, and had served under Cæsar during both his invasions of the island. He survived the Cæsarian wars in Gaul, and is supposed to have struck coins bearing his name, which have been found on both sides of the Channel. The continental silver coin stamped Com. is universally ascribed to him, and the British specimens to supposed sons of his.

King Cunobelin seems to have exerted all his influence in order to Romanize his subjects by other means, and also by adopting not only Roman letters, but also the Latin language on his coins. He thus paved the way for the conquest of his dominions and the death and capture of his sons, who were unable successfully to repel an invasion far less formidable than that conducted by the great Julius against their predecessor Cassivelaunus.

An examination of the various symbols impressed on the Gallic uninscribed coins has been conducted with great skill and caution by Mr. Lambert, and serves to throw new light upon the theology of the Pelasgian race in earlier times, before temple priests and poets, skilled in art, had peopled heaven with new denizens, whose beauty, wisdom, and power, embodied in the human form, tended not to raise man to heaven, but to bring down the gods to earth.

The time has not yet arrived for undertaking a similar examination of the British unlettered coins, and of instituting a comparison between their symbols and those of ancient Gaul and Greece. I agree with Mr. Lambert in holding that the famous coin of Philip of Macedon had no reference to any Olympic victory, but bore on its face religious symbols which could easily be recognized in countries which still preserved the purer traditions. Plutarch's authority on the question has no weight, as he was much fonder of retailing scandalous anecdotes than of inquiring into the truth of them. The chariot races in the Roman Circus were not derived from Elis, but were transmitted from the earliest times, as a necessary part of a great religious drama which was connected with the ancient doctrines respecting the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. It would be very difficult to prove that the elegant coin of Syracuse, which is supposed to have been copied from the biga of Philip of Macedon, had not, on the contrary, served as a model to the Macedonian artist, who might easily have omitted the Sicilian triquetra. (See Coin, No. 2.)

There is an archaic coin of Syracuse which exhibits on the

reverse the punch-mark, impressed with a small head of Proserpine (see Coin, No. 3); on the obverse it has a figure conducting a biga. It is generally assigned to the end of the fifth century, about 490 B.C., long before Philip the Second ascended the Macedonian throne.

There is another rare coin of Syracuse (see Coin, No. 4). "It is," writes Noel Humphreys, "of a curious and interesting period of archaic Sicilian art, and is one of the earliest specimens of a complete coin, when the punch with which the reverse was struck had become a perfect die like that of the obverse. In this instance, the small head of Proserpine in the punch-mark of the preceding piece has become a large and well-executed head, surrounded by dolphins, one of the principal emblems of the Syracusans, and has the full inscription. It now forms the obverse, while the biga is removed to the reverse. It is supposed to be of the period of Gelo I., who died 478 before Christ."

Should any one compare the figure of the driver on this coin with the Macedonian auriga, he will clearly see that the latter was borrowed from the former. Above the horses hovers a winged female, and below them there is a lion running.

The "bigati stateres" of Philip presented to the Western world no new religious symbols, but such as were long before looked upon as sacred, and had been impressed upon Sicilian coins while the intercourse between the Greeks of Sicily with the southern provinces of Gaul was, as yet, free from the hostile prohibitions of Carthage.

It is true that the staters presented the original symbols in a less corrupted form than that in which they appear in the Syracusan coins; and that might have been one reason why the Druids of Gaul had so eagerly adopted them, both as current coins and as models for imitation. But this was done in violation of the primary rules of their religion, which required the absence of all engraved figures and letters from all their public monuments. The imitations of the figures were soon followed by the introduction of inscriptions upon the

coins of all the states who were in a hurry to become Romans.

The Armoricans alone, who had admitted the figures, refused to adopt the letters, and, as I firmly believe, altogether renounced the art of coining as a culpable innovation and incompatible with their religious principles, and that their example on this point was followed by their co-religionists in Great Britain. Without admitting this, it would be impossible to account for the non-appearance of Celtic coins in Ireland, where the Druidical body found a safe asylum from Roman persecution, and where they so successfully organized that Celtic party which eventually drove the Romans from Great Britain.

The symbols on the famous Macedonian coin were extremely simple, and of a primitive character. The laurelled head of Apollo was the type of the material sun, which itself was supposed to be the best representative of the one creative spirit; and the biga and its driver represented the moon, which, in its turn, was supposed to be a sufficient type of the Duad, or the passive principle, which Greek philosophers named *Φύσις*, and the Latins *natura*, and which mythology has designated by a thousand myths. It was, however, as movers, and as the two visible sources of light, that they were supposed principally to cause life and generation, as being those

Cœlo qui ducitur annum,

and brought on in regular order the four seasons, and the other changes of which the creating spirit had made them the instruments most apparent to man. The *carmen sæculare* of Horace embodies the popular ideas respecting the worship and praise due to the two great luminaries, for the benefits which they were supposed to confer upon mankind, and forms one of the best hymns composed by the Roman muse.

But the Druids of Gaul did not long content themselves with the mythical symbols impressed upon the Macedonian coin. They innovated greatly upon the original design. And here again let Mr. Lambert speak for himself (p. 69):—

“But this state of things did not continue long, since we

discover at an early period the biga reduced to a single horse, and the conductress exchanging her whip or goad for certain mysterious symbols. Then commences the veritable transformation. The conducting guide, having quitted the car, places herself above the steed (see Coin, No. 5), and seems to whirl through space as an ethereal traveller; sometimes it assumes the form of a simple horseman armed with sword and buckler (see Coin, No. 6), and rapidly gallops along, until at last it is replaced by the eagle (Coin, No. 7), the emblem of swiftness, or even by a dragon (Coin, No. 8).

"I have already said that Selene, the conductress of the moon, is seen on certain Gallic coins. All know that the ancients regarded her as a divinity, and that the Greeks raised altars to her. In the eighth Orphic Hymn she is described as the guide of peaceful nights; but her name is only one of the epithets of Diana, commissioned to give light to the world during the night—Diana Lucifera or Phœosphorus is the same as the moon. She is the sister of Helios, or the sun, and is represented as sitting in a car

et tuas lentè

Remeare bigas, pallida Phœbe.

"It is commonly believed, on the testimony of Plutarch, that the gold coin of Philip had its origin in the Olympic victories of that prince. But is it certain that Plutarch was not mistaken on the subject? There may, perhaps, be some reason to suspect this, when we look at the beautiful Philippian stater in the king's cabinet (see Coin, No. 2), having on one side the laurelled head of Apollo; and on the other a figure in a biga, holding in her right hand a *baguette*, and in her left the reins, and having below a radiant head of the sun. It will probably be objected to us, that here the head of the sun is a mint variety, as on the other specimens there are to be found a thunderbolt, a victory, a diota, the flower of the Balaustium, a helmet, and the triquetra. I can, however, quote in support of my own opinion, a fragment of beautiful Gallo-Roman pottery, red and fine, picked up among the ruins of the ancient

city of the Viducasses at Vieux, near Caen, on which is seen Diana Luna mounted on a biga directing the two steeds, preceded by the evening star. This appears to me to approximate closely to the Philippian coin, and I give a representation of both of them side by side, that they may be better compared.



However that may be, I feel myself authorized in concluding, that was the way in which the Druids understood the type on the Macedonian coin, because I can now produce a handsome gold coin (see Coin, No. 9) from the cabinet of Mr. Drouot of Mans, which, with the laurelled head of Apollo on one side, presents on the other a single horse conducted by a figure with a fantastic head, having below a circle with rays, thus indicating the advance of the nocturnal luminary to replace the light of the setting sun. This intention of the Gallic artist cannot be mistaken, seeing he has placed above the horse's ears a crescent, in order to complete the myth."

But the Druids, as we are distinctly told by Strabo, were not only professors of natural philosophy, but also moral teachers. They held with the true philosophers, that there was

nothing great in creation but man, nothing great in man but his soul, which never died. When they, therefore, adopted symbols as mute teachers, which spake not but to the initiated, they wanted something more than the Hellenic symbol of *Φύσις* or *natura*, personified under a myriad of names. They, therefore, fixed upon a symbol of human nature which alone was capable of moral treatment, and expressed it by converting the two horses of the biga into one, to which they gave the human face, that no doubt might be entertained as to its real mythical character. The animal propensities of human nature are represented by the equine body, and his rational powers and moral capacity by the human head. They no less clearly indicated the mythical character of the Hellenic conductress, by changing it into various forms, and removing it into a higher region external to the symbolized figure, thus teaching that, if human nature is to be properly guided and restrained in its course, it must move in obedience to the guidance of a superior intelligence, and to the influence of a wisdom from above. On some coins the conducting figure is altogether removed from the face of the coin, and only hands holding the reins are presented to the eye. This necessity of superhuman aid, actually taught that there were also superhuman enemies which human nature alone could not successfully resist.

Mr. Lambert, who confounds the mythic horse with the celestial guide, did not see this. Nevertheless, he writes very much to the purpose :—

“It is but natural to admit, that from the moment when that Druidic thought was first expressed upon the coins, the next step would be to ascribe to it the character of a victorious divinity successfully combating against malignant influences, consequently the genius of evil, a species of Typhon, the symbol of darkness opposed to light, was depicted on the coins as an armed being, sometimes with wings, always overthrown and trampled under the feet of the Androcephalous figure—ugliness, leanness, and monstrous forms, were usually assigned to

the personified Typhon. These characteristics can be easily recognized on the coins of the Cenomanni and Andecavi. The evil genius lies on the ground opposed to the beneficent Deity, who is in the skies. He is the evil principle or matter.

"Typhœus, who is undoubtedly the Greek representative of the Egyptian Typhon, united, according to Apollodorus, the limbs and figures of men and wild beasts; other ancient authors describe him as winged or covered with feathers. He is thus exactly represented on some gold coins of the Cenomani."

These Gallic coins contain numerous other symbolical figures, which not only throw a flood of light upon the esoteric doctrines of the Druids, but serve to prove that the great primary truths of religion, such as we find them expressed in the Book of Job, were from the earliest period known to the priests and rulers of the Celtic race. But they, like the sages of other nations, although "professing themselves wise, became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and reptiles." In their vain imaginations, they represented the divine intelligence by which this world is governed, not only by a human being, but also by an eagle and a dragon, which on the coins are found occupying the place of the mythical conductress, and, like her, holding the rein of the Androcephalous figure. Her place is also occupied by the symbol S or ∞ , which is continually found in all parts of Gallic coins, and is supposed to indicate the revolutions of the sun and moon. Here also, according to Lambert, the Isiac Bark is distinctly seen in the hands of the conductress, borne along in its heavenly course, who at other times holds also in her hands the mystic key and sacred peplum. Here, also, are to be found the eye, emblematic of Divine Providence; the lyre, of celestial harmony and various types of the solar ray, among which the figure V or Λ is conspicuous. "The symbols," says Mr. Lambert, "which accompany this figure all tend to make us believe that it is only another symbol of the luminous ray. In fact, by

what accessories is this type attended?—By globes, by radiant stars, by spoked wheels, by circles simple and concentric, and half-circles. I believe that there is a close affinity between all these various emblems which occur in characterizing the solar divinity, in a manner easy to be recognized by the initiated, but well calculated to baffle all attempts on the part of the profane to decipher the unknown signs."

"The Druids," wrote Cæsar, "prelect at large on the stars and their motion, on the size of the universe and of the earth, on natural philosophy, and the force and power of the immortal gods, and transmit their doctrines to their youthful disciples."

These doctrines, whether true or false, were held tenaciously by the Armoricans and their allies in Britain until the advent of our Saviour; and the disciples of their school were far better prepared to receive the glad tidings of the Gospel than any other people then living. Missionaries of the apostolical age found willing hearers among the disciples of the Druids in Britain, and willingly received the tidings of salvation.

By the Church, then established in Great Britain, was preserved, amidst all trials and persecutions, the faith, pure and undefiled. Nor did the Britons think it incompatible with that faith to keep their own time-honoured traditions and ancient tongue; and well is it for the true history of mankind that they did so, as we can, by the help of the monuments, written and unwritten, connected with their race, break through that wall of darkness which the vanity or wickedness of the Greeks of History built up between themselves and the past, and see what kind of men were those primeval people who brought into Europe, among other patriarchal inheritances, the knowledge of a pure religion and of the one true God, and whose children, nevertheless, abused this knowledge, gradually concealed it from the public eye, and substituted for it that abominable system which we denominate the Greek Mythology.

The series of Gallic coins served to illustrate the language and literature of the Cumri on most important points; and

much that was dark and obscure in the mystic poems of Taliessin and other bards, when read by the light of the coins, became intelligible; but these illustrations will require further research before they can be submitted to the public.

A comparison of a greater number of the uninscribed coins of the Britons than are at present within my reach, both with each other and with the Gallic coins belonging to the same class, must be instituted before they can be satisfactorily classified.

It seems, however, certain that all those gold coins found in various parts of Great Britain, and which have an impression only on one side, must be referred to a much older date than any pieces which bear inscriptions, and can in no way derive their origin either from the Macedonian biga or a Roman denarius. An examination of all the tin coins (see Coins, Nos. 10 and 11) would be very desirable, as probably they may be still older than even these gold pieces of ancient fabric and unborrowed types.



The Pentagon on a Greek Coin.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS

ON

CERTAIN VERY ANCIENT TRADITIONS AMONG CERTAIN PRIMITIVE NATIONS.

IN reading the second volume of the *Life of the late learned and lamented Carnhuanawc*, I came upon a striking passage contained in a letter written by him in the year 1840, to the lady who has ably written his life, and edited his literary remains. She had requested him to give her all the information he could command respecting Druidism. His answer, after professing his own difficulties, and almost total ignorance of the subject, thus proceeds :—

“I ought to inform you there is one person living who professes to be a Druid, and to have received the secret of the order from his father and others, and he is Mr. Taliessin Williams, of Merthyr Tydfil, son of Iolo Morganwg, and he is the only one of the order now surviving. He is as secret and mysterious as Abaris himself could have been, if Abaris was a Druid. All that he will say is, that Davies and all the rest knew nothing about the matter, and he says that he himself was, for twenty years, under a sort of Druidical training with his father, and that the system is of so sublime and intellectual a nature, that, unless he can find some one qualified in such a way as to be a worthy member of the order, the secret shall die with himself. Of course in such a case it is impossible to form an opinion. Sometimes I have been able to discover, in conversation, a tendency to approve of the doctrine of metempsychosis. But, as far as my own experience goes, I assure you I have not been able to form the most distant idea of ancient Druidism from anything that he may have said. I will confess that he has now and then staggered me a good deal, by referring to some ancient bardic lines, when I have doubted the antiquity of his system. For instance, this /I\ which they say contains the elements of the bardic alphabet, as there is no letter in that alphabet that is not formed of one or more of these lines ; and also that all

the ancient European alphabets may be resolved into these elements, the round strokes being later additions for the facility of writing with a pen ; whereas the Coelbren letters were cut on sticks, and therefore the horizontal and round letters would not do, as the grain of the wood did not admit of it. In accordance with this elementary system of three lines, they have a story about its being revealed to some one in a vision of three rays of light, and announced by three shouts, or voices. Now, all this I thought to be the mere production of the leisure hours of old Iolo Morganwg, or some other person, in modern times ; but one day, by accident, I happened upon an ancient englyn, in the *Mysyrian Archaeology*, attributed to Gwenddydd, the sister of Merlin Silvestris, in which it is said, that on some future time, when some events shall take place, which I do not understand, then happy the mouth that shall utter three words of the old original language,—

‘ Gwyn ei fyd y geneu yn rhwydd gyfeistrin,
A lefaro trigeir o’r heniaith Gysevin,’

when Ab Iolo said, ‘ there, that’s Druidism ; ’ and he directed my attention to so many expressions bearing upon the same subject, that I was completely mystified, and was obliged to acknowledge there appeared to be something handed down in these poems in concealed meanings, and which could not be made out by ordinary readers.”

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Price did not register the passages in the works of the ancient bards, which the hints thrown out by Ab Iolo enabled him to understand, as conveying an esoteric as well as an exoteric doctrine. We may well imagine that enough to rouse the desire to know more was communicated by the Druid, although he could not reveal the system which he professed to know, to one who was not willing to accept the revelations upon the same conditions upon which they were to be traditionally handed down from teacher to disciple. These conditions were, that the disciple should previously bind himself, by the most awful oaths and imprecations, not to communicate, except with the traditionary observances, the knowledge thus confidentially imparted. Now, Mr. Price was too good a Christian to submit to any such unlawful bonds ; consequently Mr. Taliessin William, whom paternal authority and a long course of education has released from all similar scruples, was as conscientiously bound to respect the oath which he had freely and willingly

taken. The Druidical succession has not, however, perished with Ab Iolo ; and many individuals of the present day profess publicly that they have been duly initiated, and are in full possession of all the Druidical doctrines held under the sanction of the bardic chair of Glamorgan. And it must be confessed that these self-named *illuminati* justly complain that they are vilified, reviled, and calumniated, merely because, from a conscientious observance of their oaths, the awful rhydyngiad, they refuse to communicate to the profane the deposit which can be handed over to the initiated alone.

I, however, who neither calumniate the order, nor am yet willing to submit to their conditional self-imprecations, must either remain in ignorance of their secrets, or discover some more legitimate mode of acquiring the withheld knowledge. And I now proceed to make my first attempt. When Mr. Sharon Turner was preparing his triumphant vindication of the Ancient British Poems, published in the first volume of the *Myfyrian Archæology*, he was principally furnished with materials by Iolo Morganwg and Dr. Owen Pughe. Instructed by them, he makes the following statement :—

“Among the Welsh remains is a manuscript of poetical Triads. It has been intituled ‘Barddas,’ or the book of bardism, or Cyfrinach Beirdd Yays Prydain, that is, the secret craft of the bards of the Island of Britain.”

“The Triads,” adds Mr. Turner, “were collected together at different periods ;” and then, in a note, subjoins :—

“That the reader may have some idea of the work which I am going to quote, I think it right to insert some extracts from its prefaces, with which Mr. Owen has favoured me. The book was last transcribed and revised by Edward Dafydd, who died 1690. His original manuscript is yet extant in the library of Llanharan, in Glamorganshire, now the property of Mr. Turberville. The collection was made before him, by Llywelyn Sion, who flourished in 1580, and died in 1616.”

In another note Mr. Turner states :—

“The book of bardism containing these tenets (namely, the whole doctrine of the metempsychosis) has not yet been printed ; I believe it will appear in the fourth volume of the *Welsh Archæology*. But copious extracts from it

may be found at the end of the second volume of Mr. Edward Williams's Poems, with translations."

Now, the extraordinary fact is, that Mr. Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg) lived to publish an edition of this manuscript under only one of its names, *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, a very well written system of poetics, both in form and substance; and which no one, but a man of genius and of great Celtic scholarship, could have possibly composed. But the secret doctrines of the supposed Druidical philosophy have no place in Iolo's published work, although Dr. Owen Pughe professed to have drawn and translated them, for the use of Mr. Turner, from the same work when in manuscript.

I ought to add, that the prefaces by different persons, and furnished by Dr. Pughe to Mr. Turner, differ not from the same prefaces as published by Iolo Morganwg, and have not the slightest allusion to any philosophical doctrines; but state that the great object of the composers of the work was to search out and establish anew the old order and regulation of the art of song and its relations, and as to the privileges and customs of the bards of the Isle of Britain.

"Its authors, teachers, and judges, who sanctioned the system and code, were the Druids and bards, after they had come to the faith in Christ."

This, therefore, was not the source from which Dr. Owen Pughe drew the Druidical doctrines made public by Sharon Turner. But we find in his *Dictionary*, certain quotations from a work which he calls *Barddas*, which exhibit doctrines redolent of extreme antiquity, and commemorative of philosophic systems, which the peasants of Glamorgan, comparatively illiterate, could never have extemporized. At present I shall confine myself to a single quotation, inserted under the word "Nev," and give both the original and literal English translation:—

"Pump tywarchen y sydd; sef daiar, dwr, tan, awyr, a'r Nef, ac o'r pedair cyntaf pob defnydd difwyd; ac o'r nev Duw, a phob Bywyd, a Bywydol; ac o ymgyd y pump hyn pob peth, ai bywydawl ai ammywydawl y bo."—*Barddas*.

Translation :—

"Five constituents there are—earth, water, fire, air, and the Nef; and out of the first four, every material, void of life; and out of the Nef, God, and every life and living (thing); and from the mutual union of these five, everything, whether it be animate or inanimate."

I may as well confess that I had long been expecting the publication of the work which Dr. Owen Pughe had thus quoted, and that my disappointment was great on reading the work, which Iolo, after a long delay, had at last published, and finding that there was no such passage in it, nothing even like it, and that the editor passed over the whole subject in profound silence.

At a later period I had an opportunity of examining all the manuscripts which both Iolo and his son Taliessin left behind them; and can safely say that among them there was not a trace of either a book called *Barddas*, or of the passages which Dr. O. Pughe has quoted from it. I am, therefore, compelled to conclude that in them we have genuine fragments of a secret philosophy, which, having accidentally seen the light, were left without sanction, and without any legitimate authority. As such I accept them.

In other parts of Europe we must go far back in time before we can find any proof of a belief in the existence of more than the commonly received four elements; and, even when we discover this, it will not in any degree harmonize with the system described in the supposed quotation from *Barddas*. This can be proved from comparing two passages from Aristotle. The first is as follows :—

"Therefore a person, reasoning from all these things, might be brought to believe that there exists, in addition to the bodies present here and around us, some other one, separated from us, and having a more valuable nature in proportion as it is further removed from our sphere."

The second passage, taken also from his book *About the Heavens*, reiterates the same doctrine, and brings the word *αὐθις* as a proof that his conclusion was confirmed by the authority of preceding ages. His words are :—

"But even the name appears to have been handed down to the present age

from those of old who held on the subject the same opinion as I do. For not once, or twice, but an infinite number of times, ought we to think that the same knowledge has reached mankind. Therefore, as if the first body was something different beyond earth, fire, air, and water, they named it *αἰθέρα*, giving it this name from *αἰθεῖν*, from its eternal circular motion in the uppermost region."

But the succeeding philosophers of the material school did not accept Aristotle's doctrines; they preferred to follow the example of Anaxagoras, "who had abusively treated the word *αἰθέρα*, and confounded it with fire," and finally made the "empyrean" the supreme God, in the language of Ennius:—

"Adspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem."

In Strabo we have a short summary of the main doctrines held by the ancient philosophers of India, as recorded by Megasthenes, a trustworthy author, well acquainted with the subject. They held "that the universe was subject to genesis and destruction, and that it was sphere-shaped; and that the God who forms and administers it has pervaded it through its whole extent; that the principles of the universe are different: water, for instance, is the first principle of the fabrication of the world (query, our globe?); that, in addition to the elements, there is a certain fifth nature, of which the heavens and stars are composed. . . . They also interweave myths, like Plato, concerning the soul's immortality, and the judgments in Hades."

Had Megasthenes reported that the fifth element was the principle of life, as well as of the heavens and the stars, the harmony of the Indian system would have been complete. Even as it is, the similarity is too great to allow the supposition that they could have a different origin.

The Hon. Algernon Herbert, as we know from that strange and fanciful work named *An Essay on the Neo-druidic Heresy*, was strongly impressed with an opinion that some connection had existed of old between India and Britain:—

"Other considerations," he states, "induce me to believe that such was the case, and even to suspect that this island may once have received a visit

from some Brahmins, and that they may have beheld the famous *Stonehenge*—probably within some thirty or forty years after its completion.”

The sincere writer who now advocates the reality of the valuable cyfrinon,¹ known to himself and brethren, labours hard to prove the existence of the same connection; but, as his bonds do not allow him to reveal them to the uninitiated, he maintains the contest with his right hand tied up, or rather fails to convince, as no satisfactory explanation can be given which is not conveyed in words of sincerity and truth.

But we have great light thrown upon the quotation supposed to be taken from *Barddas*, by a reference to the Egyptian mythology, and I make no apology for the following passage, taken from the *Materia Hieroglyphica* of Sir Gardener Wilkinson, p. 1 :—

“ So little has been faithfully recorded, and, indeed, so little was known by ancient authors, of the deities of Egypt, that we cannot place much confidence in the vague accounts given by them. Admitting that the general division is correct, namely, eight principal deities, from whom were born twelve others, and from these again the remaining minor divinities, I proceed to point out the names of those that have been ascertained, beginning with the eight great gods.

“ KNEF, NEF.

“ The first of these is Knef, or Nef, the deity of Elephantine and the Thebaid. The sons of Ham had taught their descendants, the early inhabitants of this country, the true worship of one spiritual and eternal Being, who had alone disposed the order of the universe, divided the light from the darkness, and ordained the creation of mankind. But the Egyptians, in process of time, forsook the purer ideas of a single Deity, and admitted his attributes into a participation of that homage which was due to the Divinity himself. Kneph, or, more properly speaking, Neph, or Nef, was retained as the idea of the spirit of God.”

And we learn from Plutarch that the inhabitants of the Thebais worship their god, Kneph, alone, whom they look upon as without a beginning, and also without end. All other deities, or *quasi* deities, must have been regarded as, partly at least, emanations from this spiritual and everlasting divinity.

But this also is the doctrine embodied in the quotation, that from Nef came God, and everything having life.

¹ *Coo-rinon*, mysteries or runes, understood by the initiated.

The worship paid by the Egyptians, not only to qualities, emanations, and abstract virtues of the one God, but also to animals, from the highest to the lowest, from the most useful to the most noxious, and to vegetables of all kinds, must have been grounded on this principle, and could never have been justified, as the defenders of such corruptions have often asserted, on the advantages derived to man from such productions.

I refer to my *Gomer* for a proof of the extent to which Nef and its derivatives entered into the religious systems of the ancient Gauls and Britons. This of itself proves the existence of a very early connection between these nations and Egypt, and, if with Egypt, with the whole ancient civilized world. And here I terminate, for the present, my explanation of the ancient doctrine upon this point.

I may, however, before I conclude, state that, in the three volumes of the *Myfyrian Antiquities*, there are numerous allusions, not only to the secret doctrines of the ancient Druids while yet heathens, but also ample expositions of the faith, morals, and ecclesiastical principles which the Cymry, when converted to the faith in Christ, adopted as their Christian institutes. These are especially to be found in the third volume, containing the collection called "*Doethineb y Cumri*," the wisdom of the Cumri, and which is ascribed principally to St. Catog, and to a bard called Glas-y-gader.¹ In my next communication I propose to return to the subject, and illustrate at some length the other doctrines contained in the quotations from *Barddas*.

I may add, that I am certain that they are genuine fragments of ancient lore, and that Dr. Owen Pughe or some other person copied them from some written document, which may perhaps be still forthcoming, should the surviving members of the chair of Glamorgan become, through God's grace, true Christians.

¹ Otherwise "*Glas-geraint*," the glasgerion of the old English poets.

THE ANCIENT PHŒNICIANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

It may now be accepted as a proved fact, that, of the generic language of mankind, there are, at least, two specific types—the Indo-European language, and the Semitic: to the former belong the languages called Iranic, Indic, Hellenic, Italic, Winedic, Celtic, Teutonic; to the latter, the Arabian, Aramaic, and Hebrew dialects. The specific difference between these two classes is sufficiently marked to enable any good linguist to refer any language tolerably known to either of these branches, or to exclude it as not traceable to their types when once developed and formed. Now, the intention with which the present paper is written, is to examine whether there remain sufficient materials connected with the memorials of the ancient Phœnicians to enable scholars to decide whether that extraordinary people belonged to the Indo-Celtic or Semitic race. I am speaking not of the *παλαιὴ* Phœnicians, but, to use the expression of Aristotle, of the *παμπάλαιοι*—of those Phœnicians whom the Persian *literati* described as emigrants from the Erythræan Sea, and as foreign settlers in Phœnicia, where they established themselves as sea-traversing merchants. The words of Herodotus are:—

“Now, the historians of the Persians say that the Phœnicians were the cause of the variance (between Europe and Asia), for they say that these having come from the sea called Erythra to this our sea, and having occupied that very country which they even now occupy, instantly applied themselves to long sea voyages.”

This may be adduced as a proof that the Persians believed

the Phœnicians to be foreigners, who, at a very early period in Hellenic history, took possession of ancient Phœnicia.

The learned Persians, from whom Herodotus derived his information, must have well known the ethnology of central Asia, which at that period was governed by Persian satraps; and the fathers of many of them must have been present in the camp of Xerxes, where were collected, according to their races, the armed warriors of all the empire. They had been present in council with the Phœnician kings, when summoned by Xerxes, to give their advice respecting naval affairs, previous to the battle of Salamis: they were, therefore, adequate judges of the truth of the statement respecting their Eastern origin advanced by the Phœnicians, and confirmed it by their testimony. Now, the same Herodotus had been among the Phœnicians, of whom he gives this additional account:—

“Now, these Phœnicians in ancient times dwelt long, as they themselves say, upon the sea Erythra, but having thence set out, and having crossed over Syria, they inhabit the maritime coast of the Levant. Now, both this position of Syria, and the whole country as far as Egypt, is called Palestine.”

As to the period when this emigration and new settlement, traditionally recorded by the Phœnicians, and confirmed by the learned Persians, took place, we must be content to refer it to a vague antiquity, the age of Io, the daughter of Inachus, which epoch Mr. Fynes Clinton is pleased to fix some sixteen generations from the siege of Troy. In his own words, “Inachus, the father of Phoroneus, was the highest term in Grecian history.”¹ The commencement of Hellenic history dates from the Argive Inachus. Africanus makes him a little older than Moses; Eusebius has placed Moses 300 years below him, but agrees with Africanus in placing Inachus 700 years before the fall of Troy. Other traditions, however, to which Pausanias refers, make Phoroneus the first king. Acusilaus records this tradition:—“For Acusilaus says that Phoroneus was the first man, whence also the poet of the Phoronis says that he was

¹ *Fasti, Hellenici*, vol. i.

the father of mortal men." According to other traditions, Inachus, not Phoroneus, was the first man, the *αὐτοχθών*, the son of the earth. Now, this was an inveterate error among the Hellenic archaeologists. They continually created their ancestors, and referred their origin to trees, stones, rivers, or gods and goddesses. The ancient nations of the East might well laugh at their credulity and folly on this point. But modern authors, who write as if the first emigrators from the East must have found Europe occupied by wild savages, are practically guilty of the same folly, and would hold with Tacitus, that the ancient Germans must have sprung from the soil, seeing that no settlers from a better climate would have ever emigrated into such a dreary, marshy, cold, ungenial, and uncleared region. But we now know that the languages spoken in ancient Germany, although they may have been corrupted in various regions and various modes, are really cognate with Greek and Latin, and must have been conveyed, together with their speakers, from some common home, after that period which had separated the Indo-Celtic from the Semitic type. Now, there are various forms, both of the vocables and grammar, which Indo-Celtic dialects have assumed in Europe, which may be exemplified in the Greek, Latin, and ancient Teutonic and Celtic tongues. The question, which of these approaches nearer, and recedes further from, the original model, or whether the various, either developments or decadences, took place in the original seats, or were worked out in the several localities in Europe, is one more easily asked than answered, but which, nevertheless, has a very close connection with the affiliation of tongues, and the history of the human race. Those who accept the Scripture accounts of the origin of man, and the leading events in primeval times, as trustworthy records, hold that the first man and the first woman were made by God Himself, by an immediate miraculous act, and that the whole human race springs from that pair, and that these were represented after the deluge by the patriarch Noah and his sons, who handed down to their posterity one tongue, which became at a later period miraculously

confounded and divided into three several branches, whence have been derived all the spoken dialects of the earth; and this is a far more rational system, and more in unison with the experience of man, than that advocated by the author of *The Vestiges of Creation*, or by those who allow of certain great laws, but deny the existence of a legislator.

The confusion of tongues is described in Scripture as immediately followed by a dispersion, which scattered mankind over certain portions of the ancient world. This we may well believe was more done by water voyages than by land travelling for many centuries after the deluge; and the men who came from the Erythræan Sea to the shores of the Mediterranean, in very early ages, and there immediately applied themselves to naval operations and long voyages, must have brought with them from their Eastern homes the arts both of building and navigating ships, in which they transferred to Western regions the rich produce of India, Assyria, and Egypt. To the carrying trade they soon added home manufactures on the most extensive scale. The following passage from the prophet Ezekiel, as translated by Mr. Charles Taylor, gives a graphic view of the extent of their commerce, and of the variety of the arts and manufactures which distinguished the Tyre of his day:—

“Tarshish was thy commissioned agent for thy great and general assortment of silver, iron, tin, and lead, which they have supplied to thy fairs. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, these were thy dealers in persons of men, and vases, and brass, which they furnish to thy magazines. From the house of Togarmah, *horses*, and high-mettled steeds, and mules, they furnish to thy fairs. The sons of Dedan were consignees to thee, *factors for thee*; many islands committed their consignments to thy hands, *were female dealers to thee*: horns of teeth and ebony they contributed to thy store. Aram was thy *female* dealer in thy very numerous manufactures, in carbuncle, corals, and rubies, and purple, and brocade embroidery, and fine linen, furnished in thy fairs. Judah, and the land of Judah, they were thy dealers, *customers, factors*, in ‘comminith,’ ‘panag,’ honey, oil, and gums, furnished to thy market. Damascus was thy female dealer, especially in thy numerous manufactures, because of thy great and general demand in wine, ‘chelvon,’ and white wool. Dan also, ‘mantzel’ (in our translation, going to and from), in thy fairs, furnished bright iron, cassia, and calamus, these were included in

thy marvels. Dedan was thy female dealer in very curious hangings for chariots. Oreb, and all the chiefs of Kedar, they were factors to thy hand with lambs, and kids, and goats: in these were his consignees to thee in the head (prime) of all aromatics, spices, in all precious stones, and gold, they furnish thy fairs. Charan, and Canneh, and Heden, were thy merchants, factors; Sheba, Ashur, Chilmad, thy female dealers. These themselves were thy dealers generally in all things, in blue coverings, and embroideries, and in cabinets of rich inlayings, in ornamental net-work, in bindings, and cedar wood-works in thy merchandises. The *great* ships (men of Tarahiah) were chiefs in thy markets: and thou art full, and hast glorified thyself greatly in the middle of the sea."

Such were the condition and transactions of the Phœnicians at the termination of the sixth century before Christ. They traded directly with Tartessus, in Spain, whose ships and captains were seen also in the harbours of Phœnicia, whither they brought, among other articles, silver, iron, tin, and lead. As tin, in large quantities, could be procured from Great Britain alone,—and as it entered so largely into the composition of the bronze utensils, ornaments, and weapons, used in the earlier ages,—they must have held intercourse, either direct or indirect, with the British Islands.

The metal thus composed has been found in vast quantities, not only on the coasts of the Mediterranean, but on the shores of the Euxine, and west of the pillars of Hercules, along the Atlantic and German Oceans, from Southern Spain to the Baltic regions, and over the whole extent of all the British Isles. We have, therefore, in these bronze remains, a proof of commerce widely diffused in space, and continued during a lapse of time we can only guess at.

Profane history is either totally silent respecting the colonization and settlement of Europe from the continent of Asia, or has only transmitted information, disfigured by myths and fabulous legends, of which the most substantial parts are genealogies, changeable in forms, and uncertain in dates. The learned Jacob Bryant premised his inquiries respecting the original inhabitants of Hellas by the following declaration:—

"The sons of Japheth were certainly the first inhabitants of those countries,

but the Helladians (Hellenes), although by family Ionians, were not of this race. They came afterwards, and all their best writers agree that, when their ancestors made their way into these provinces, they were possessed by a prior people."

Faber, in his *Horæ Mosaicæ*, adopted the interpretation of Bryant, and sums up his conclusion in these startling terms :—

"In short the most celebrated leaders of the Grecian colonies, such as Danaus, Erectheus, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Phœnix, all came from Egypt. Hence it is evident that the Greeks were, strictly speaking, an Egyptian nation, and consequently not the descendants of Japheth."

Fynes Clinton, in examining these same questions of the early inhabitants of Greece, prefaces his inquiry with the following statement :—

"It naturally occurs to inquire whether these were descended from the original occupiers of the soil, or whether they were sprung from settlers of a later date, by whom that original race was displaced. Four establishments were ascribed, but the exchange effected by these establishments of Danaus, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Pelops, was not such as to deserve to be accounted the introduction of a new race of people, such as is introduced by force of arms, or by a large body of invaders overwhelming the ancient inhabitants. Nothing of this character belonged to the settlements made in early Greece. These were made within three centuries of the Trojan war, when the country was already in the possession of powerful tribes, which subsisted after these establishments, and increased so far as to supersede them. All these four settlements are examples of a smaller received into a larger number. These were adopted by the body of the people by whom they were received, and the Egyptian, Phœnician, or Phrygian settler was lost in the Greek; exclude, then, these from the inquiry, we must rise to a higher point of time, and extend our survey over the early tribes, by whom the country was possessed, in order to determine how far the Greeks were an original people."

The only argument adduced by him in support of these sweeping assertions seems to be based on a quotation from the French historian Clavier, who, writing on the same subject, says :—

"It was not at all necessary that these colonies should be numerous; they were only commercial establishments round which certain families gathered together. Afterwards, instead of causing their hosts to adopt their language, the Phœnicians had themselves to learn the language of the country. The Phœnician colony which Cadmus conducted into Boeotia was not so powerful

as to cause its influence over the language to extend itself over the rest of Greece."

The argument seems to be this—

"Cadmus and his fellow-colonists carried into Bœotia the Phœnician language, which must have been radically different from the Hellenic; but they and their language disappeared from the face of Hellas, without leaving a trace of themselves either in the country in general, or in Bœotia in particular."

The question is at once assumed that the language of Cadmus and his companions was different from that of the Bœotians, in other words, that it was Semitic; but, when once this assumption is not allowed, the whole argument falls to the ground, unless the assumption be supported by adequate proofs.

These proofs, such as they are, I now intend to review, to give them their proper weight, and enable the reader to form his own conclusion. Should he fail to be convinced by them that the early Phœnicians spoke a Semitic language, he will then be in a proper temperament to examine, without prejudice, the arguments and testimonies to be adduced by me to show that their language belonged to the Indo-European class. And, as the proofs will partly depend upon the authority of writers both sacred and profane, I quote here the very just summary respecting their respective value from the *Introduction to Scripture Chronology*, by Fynes Clinton:—

"The history contained in the Hebrew Scriptures presents a remarkable and pleasing contrast to the *early* accounts of the Greeks. In the latter we trace with difficulty a few obscure facts, preserved to us by the poets, who transmitted to us, with all the embellishments of poetry and fable, what they had received from oral tradition. On the contrary, we have, in the annals of the Hebrew nation, authentic narratives written by contemporaries, and those writing under the guidance of inspiration. But, as the narrative comes with an authority which no other writings can possess, so in the matters related it has a character of its own."

Clinton then shows that the entire history, from the call of Abraham to the time of Malachi, was a series of miracles:—

"It is so much the object of the Sacred Scriptures to describe these, that

little else is recorded ; the ordinary events and transactions which constitute the history of other states are either very briefly told, or omitted altogether. From this spirit of the Scripture history, the writers not designing to give a full account of all transactions, but only to dwell on that portion in which the divine character was marked, many things which we might desire to know are omitted, and, on many occasions, a mere outline of the history is preserved."

If the facts connected with their own history were but scantily noticed, we must not expect more minute details respecting neighbouring states, but willingly accept as true all the notices of them recorded in the Sacred Volume ; they are as follows :—The name Phœnicia, itself, does not occur in the canonical books of the Old Testament ; but frequent and even very early notices of Sidon remain on record. Ham, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, is said to be the father of Canaan, whose eldest son was Sidon.

From this passage it has been inferred that this third descendant from Ham founded the city called after his name, and was the father of all the Sidonians of early history, as his brothers were the stocks from which the other Canaanites sprung ; but, while admitting the fact, we may deny the inference. Sidon might have founded and given his name to the city ; and yet we may safely accept the testimony of the Sidonians themselves, confirmed by that of the learned Persians, that the emigrants from the Sea Erythra had acquired, either by force, favour, or purchase, the site and city once held by descendants of Canaan, and occupied it without changing its name. This might have well happened in the long interval between the third descendant of Ham, and the period in which Sidon is next mentioned in the Old Testament. If we place the acmè of the third descendant of Ham about the year 2000 B.C., and the campaign of Joshua against Jabin king of Hazor, and his confederates, about the year 1450 B.C., there will remain an interval of 550 years, during which the emigrants from the Sea Erythra had ample time to establish their flourishing cities on the strip of shore which in aftertimes was known as Phœnicia. The whole passage bearing on this

point is here quoted from the eleventh chapter of the book of Joshua :—

“ And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor had heard those things, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, and to the kings that were on the north of the mountains, and of the plains south of Chinneroth, and in the valley, and in the borders of Dor on the west, and to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mispeh. And they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many. And the Lord delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them unto Great Zidon.”

Now, in this general muster of the Canaanites in their vicinity, no communication was held with the Tyrians and Sidonians, nor help asked by the king, “ which beforetime was the head of all these kingdoms.” Had they also been Canaanites, such an omission and neglect could hardly have taken place, nor would the king of Great Zidon allow men of his own blood and religion to be massacred before his face.

Both Tyre and Sidon were equally neutral in a war which Barak and Deborah waged, some two centuries later, against another Jabin king of Hazor, who was also king of Canaan, “ so that they prevailed until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.”

In the description of the lot of Asher, Sidon is again called Great Zidon ; and the strong city Tyre, apparently the Palæ-Tyrus of Arrian, is placed on the seashore. When, in addition to these facts, we take into consideration that the almost universal voice of profane history, proclaiming Tyre to be a colony of Sidon, is ratified by that passage in the twenty-third chapter of Isaiah, in which Tyre is called the daughter of Zidon, we must come to the conclusion that Sidon had, long before the entrance of the children of Israel into the land of Canaan, been a prosperous and flourishing city, and had been enabled to found another city superior to herself in historic renown, and which eventually disowned her parent, and claimed a separate origin.

From Scripture evidence we thus derive no proof that the Sidonians of ancient times were Canaanites, or a Semitic people; on the contrary, that they were, as professed by themselves, enigrants from the shores of an Eastern sea into the land of Canaan. They were undoubtedly surrounded by Syrians and Canaanites, whose speech was Semitic, and, in the great lapse of ages, the later occupiers of Tyre and Sidon might have first corrupted, and finally replaced, the ancient Phœnician tongue by one of the numerous Aramaic dialects. In addition to the repeated invasions of the region in which they were occupied, we have authentic records testifying to the total destruction of Sidon, and all its inhabitants, by the Persian king Ochus, who left it an utter desolation in the fourth century B.C. The similar fate of ancient Tyre, by Nebuchadnezer, six centuries—and of insular Tyre in the latter part of the fourth century—B.C., are equally well ascertained. During the wars of the successors of Alexander, especially of the kings of Syria and Egypt, their peculiar territory, as well as the Isle of Cyprus, was the favourite field of battle. When Rome prevailed, new colonies were placed in all these cities, being composed principally of Roman soldiers levied in every part of the empire.

To suppose, therefore, that the dialect spoken by the people inhabiting Phœnicia in the fourth century after Christ was a fair representative of the language of the ancient Sidonians, the Eastern navigators who, some two thousand years before, had founded the city of Great Zidon, and the strong city of Tyre, is a merely gratuitous assumption. As well might a line of argument be drawn up to show that the languages now spoken at Syracuse, Taranto, or Marseilles, were adequate representatives of the Achæan, Dorian, and Ionian dialects of their historic founders.

Nevertheless, the strongest proof adduced by the learned Bochart is derived from the testimony of St. Jerom and St. Augustine, who flourished at the close of the fourth century after Christ. Augustine, who was ignorant of Hebrew, but acquainted with the Punic dialect spoken in the vicinity of

Carthage, pronounces only for the cognation, not for the sameness, of the two; and supposes that the original Phœnician language in Canaan was nearer to Hebrew than the more corrupt form of it which he found at Hippo.

St. Jerom, a man of great and accurate learning, states that the Punic language is in a great degree a close neighbour (*confinis*) to the Hebrew. He states also that the Afri had corrupted the language of the Phœnicians. I believe St. Jerom and St. Augustine's testimony, as far as it goes, and that the language spoken in the geographical Phœnicia of their day, and in the vicinity of Carthage, was some corrupted form of an Aramaic dialect. But neither of these learned fathers was in a position to prove that such a dialect had any character in common with the primitive tongue which the ancient Sidonians brought into Syria, and diffused among their colonies.

I was long ago forced to come to the conclusion that, at some period unknown to history, some events took place which broke the connection between succeeding Tyrians and the early Phœnician founders of the city, of which the result was, a claim on the part of Tyre to be the metropolis, the mother-city, of the Phœnicians,—a claim which, even under the Romans, was carried on with vehemence, and alternate success, by the rebellious daughter and indignant mother.

Under the notice of a Tyrian medal, No. X. in Taylor's *Additions to Calmet*, article "Tyre," we have the following observations:—

"This medal shows that Tyre qualified herself as metropolis of Phœnicia: this title is rarely taken, as a city which was a colony seldom mentioned the region of which it was a metropolis. The occasion of the striking of the coin here mentioned, very probably arose from long-standing disputes between Tyre and Sidon for the primacy, which at last came to open war between them. The Emperor Augustus, displeased with both, deprived both equally of these assumed rights and dignities. Adrian restored to Tyre the title and privileges of the metropolitan city. Elagabalus deprived it of the titles of metropolis and colony, and transferred them to Sidon. Instantly on this acquisition, Sidon struck a great quantity of medals, and continued so to do during this whole reign. Tyre, in the mean time, continued its coinage, but inscribed its currency without titles.

"Severus Alexander, to whom our present medal is referred, restored to the city of Tyre its ancient titles of colony and metropolis, to the exclusion of the city of Sidon. This was a splendid victory for Tyre over its rival, as the title ennobled Tyre as the metropolis of Phœnicia, whereby its precedence over Sidon, as well as the other cities of Phœnicia, was secured."

In the expedition of Xerxes, a naval council was called before the battle of Salamis, when, as recorded by Herodotus,—

"The kings and naval leaders of the several nations were summoned to attend, and they took their seats as the king had granted to them the honour. First, the Sidonian, and next to him the Tyrian, and in succession the others."

The Persian court was not to be deluded by the false claim of Tyre. The extent of such claim may be inferred from the following passage from Herodotus, vol. ii. cap. 44 :—

"Being willing to derive, on these points, some certain knowledge from all possible sources, I sailed to Tyre, of Phœnicia, and I heard that there was in that city a holy temple of Heracles; and I saw it richly furnished with other numerous sacred gifts; and in it were two pillars, one of pure gold, and the other of an emerald stone, emitting at night a brilliant light: and, on conversing with the priests, I asked them for what length of time the temple of the god was built. And I found that these, as well as the Egyptians, did not agree in their accounts with the Hellenes; for they said that the temple was built at the time when Tyre was being founded, and they had dwelt at Tyre for 2300 years. I found in Tyre another temple of Heracles, surnamed the Thasian. I went to Thasus also: in it I found a temple of Heracles, built by some Phœnicians, who, having sailed abroad in search of Europa, built Thasus, and these things were done no less than five generations of men before Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, was born in Hellas; these inquiries plainly show that Heracles was an ancient god."

From this, and similar accounts, we see that the Tyrian priests utterly ignored their mother city, and claimed her ancient legendary history as their own; hence we read in Arrian's account of the capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great, that the Tyrians had an Agenorium, or building dedicated to Agenor, the father of Cadmus, as well as the Sidonians, and, if they claimed the father, they would assuredly claim the son also.

There is no doubt that the connection between the earliest Phœnicians and Egypt was contemporaneous with their settle-

ments on the shores of the Mediterranean, nor that they had factories there which directly furnished the more Western world with Egyptian produce. From this seems to have proceeded the error which confounded them with the Egyptians themselves. Hence Eusebius mentions a tradition, that both Cadmus and Phoenix came originally from Egypt; and, in another place, that Cadmus brought a colony of Saitæ into Greece, and in company with them founded both Athens and Thebes; hence, also, the prevalent tradition in later times that Cecrops, an Egyptian, founded Athens.

Had the great work of Trogus Pompeius, a Vocontian Gaul, whose grandfather had served under Pompey in the Spanish war, and whose father had been secretary to Julius Cæsar, reached our times, we should have probably derived much information respecting the connection between the Western and the Eastern world, as viewed from the Gallic and Spanish side of the question. But we have only a very meagre abridgment of his forty-five volumes, drawn up by Justin, and dedicated to Antoninus Pius, with an expressed wish that the Emperor would be pleased to amend any defects. From his eighteenth book the following singular account is taken :—

“Now, since we have mentioned the Carthaginians, a few words must be said concerning their origin, after having first more deeply investigated the affairs of the Tyrians, whose misfortunes are also to be lamented. The city of the Tyrians was founded by the Phœnicians, who, being disturbed by an earthquake, quitted their native land, occupied first the Assyrian Pool, and soon after, the shore closest to the sea. There they built a city, which, from the abundance of fish (for the Phœnicians call a fish *sidon*), they named Sidon. Many years after these events, being driven out by force by the king of the Ascalonites, being conveyed thither in their ships, they built the city of Tyre, one year before the fall of Troy. There, after having for a long time, and in various ways, being worn out by the wars of the Persians, they were indeed victorious; but, as their strength was diminished, they had to undergo undeserved penalties from their slaves, who, having formed a conspiracy, murdered all the free citizens, including their masters. And thus, being masters of the city, they occupy the houses of their masters, seize upon the government, marry wives, and beget, what they were not themselves, free-born children.”

This brief summary agrees with Sidonian, Persian, and

Scripture accounts, except that it falsely asserts that the building of Tyre was the result of the capture and destruction of Sidon by the Ascalonites, who were thus described as unable to prevent a vanquished foe from founding a formidable city and fortress, much nearer to Ascalon than Sidon had been.

Justin, then, after a short episode about a grateful slave and his master, thus proceeds :—

“ This atrocious act of the slaves became well known, and was regarded as a fearful precedent by all the world ; therefore Alexander the Great, when, *after a long interval of time*, he was waging war in the East, acting as it were the part of an avenger of public security, when he took by force their city, crucified all those who survived the contest, in memory of the ancient massacre. He preserved the family of Strato alone, and restored the kingdom to his descendants ; he then gave the island to new inhabitants, free-born and free from guilt, that, after the extirpation of the servile race, there might be a new foundation of citizens. In this manner the Tyrians, being refounded under the auspices of Alexander, by frugality and laborious acquisitions, soon regained their strength.”

Now, as the desolation of Sidon, and the self-immolation of all its inhabitants, men, women, and children, only took place some ten years before the capture of Tyre, it must be supposed that the Sidonians whom Alexander found at Sidon on his entrance into Phœnicia, were Sidonians only in name, and that the Tyrians whom Alexander destroyed were, undoubtedly, closely connected with the Carthaginians, and were probably the descendants of the founders of Carthage, and the introducers of a Semitic language, and of Canaanitish idolatry. For it may well be imagined that the slaves of ancient and wealthy Tyre were drawn from the adjacent tribes, and spoke some Aramaic dialect, which, after the revolution, would become the prevalent language ; and with their language, the religion of the neighbouring tribes would naturally be introduced also.

Justin expressly states, after Trogus, that the Tyrians, before the massacre of the masters, while they were flourishing both in wealth and population, sent forth colonists into Africa, and founded Utica, two hundred and seventy years before the common date assigned for the foundation of Carthage. If this be

a fact, then Utica must have been founded while the Tyrians were still Sidonians, but superior in power and influence to Sidon, which she had deprived of the supremacy before she could have sent forth a colony of her own on such a scale. The new settlement was called Carthada, or New Town. The fact of the Tyrian supremacy over Sidon was known to the Prophet Ezekiel, who says, that "the men of Zidon and Arvad were the mariners of Tyre." I find the following passage in my note-book, but am at present unable to refer to its source, although I can answer for its being an accurate copy from some author:—

"Sanchoniatho states, that the supremacy over the Phœnicians was vested in the Sidonians from Bimalus, B.C. 1820, to Gadyllcarus, B.C. 1066, and that the Sidonians, prior to the latter date, had sent out colonies to foreign countries, and, among others, to Aradus."

We have thus traditional authority for saying that the ancient Sidonians sent out colonies, during their supremacy, into various regions; that the Tyrians, while they were still Sidonians, sent colonies into Africa, and founded the great city of Utica, second to none but Carthage alone, and often her rival and enemy. That after the successful insurrection of the slaves, and the massacre of the masters, the new dominant race sent forth a flourishing colony, whose members were called by the Romans Carthaginians, from the name of their new city; and Pœni, a supposed corruption of Phœnices, who also at a later period sent forth their own peculiar swarms; while Hellenic and Latin literature applied the common name Phœnices to all these settlers of various ages in various lands.

Before I enter upon the argument deducible from philology or uninscribed monuments, it will be necessary to state the extent of our knowledge derivable from profane authors respecting the introduction of written characters into the Western world; and this will be best explained by translating the following passage taken from the Rev. Hugh James Rose, who thus expresses himself in his preface to his elegant work, entitled *Inscriptiones Græcæ Vetusissimæ*:—

"I willingly pass over all the discussions of learned men respecting Cadmus introducing into Greece the art of writing, or the contrary supposition that the Greeks were acquainted with letters before the emigration of Cadmus, for I have vainly spent too much time in such trifles to make me desirous of abusing my readers' patience. Why should I gravely quote Boher, who cites the insane follies of Diodorus as to the destruction of Greek written records in the deluge of Deucalion; or bring forward Eustathius, babbling marvels about the Pelasgi, called, forsooth, *divine*, because they alone, after the deluge, had the knowledge of letters; or should we listen to Salmasius, who, while investigating the rise of the Greek language, inquires, with immense toil and great circumlocution, whether Deucalion's deluge took place in the Peloponnesus, or in Thessaly, and also lays down propositions about the renovation of mankind by Pyrrha and Deucalion, and other questions of the same nature? Nor, by Jove, am I spitefully speaking about raw and silly scholars, for the same insanity haunts all the learned, as well as the unlearned, as soon as they enter upon this subject. They ridicule, castigate, and censure Herodotus and Thucydides, while recording either what they themselves knew or might have received from tradition. On the contrary, they accept with submissive deference all that those later and vain writers relate about the remotest age, equally unknown to them and to us. Finally, without blushing, they adduce their own dreams as realities. I am ashamed, in truth, to see what immense labour men of first-rate learning have bestowed foolishly on these subjects without understanding in what way they ought to pursue such studies. In fact, we have no history of Greek affairs extant, which goes back further than the seventh century before Christ. I am aware that a few memorials of earlier Greek history have, as it were, floated down the stream, and are still extant; but the light these throw upon the subject is insufficient, nor can their chronology be ascertained.

"We know from Scripture that the sons of Japhet inhabited the isles of the Gentiles, nor is it doubtful that the Greeks must be regarded as his descendants; but neither Scripture teaches, nor can we know from any other source, which of his descendants was the great-grandfather of the Greeks. Without a critical study of ancient history, it will be a vain attempt to collect that little light which undoubtedly can still be collected. But why do I mention ancient histories? It is from Herodotus alone that all the light which is to be collected is to be drawn."

Let, then, what Herodotus has said about the origin, use, and description of letters be carefully examined. It is almost all to be collected from the following passage, lib. v. cap. 56:—

"Now, these Gephyraeans, who were the assassins of Hipparchus, derive their origin, according to their own account, from Eretria; but as I find by my inquiries they were Phœnicians, a part of those Phœnicians who came

with Cadmus into the land now called Bœotia, and having received as their allotment in that country the Tanagraean territory, they long inhabited it. From thence, when, before the Cadmeans had been driven out of Bœotia by the Argives, these same Gephyraeans, being at a later period driven out by the Bœotians, directed their course to Athens; and the Athenians accepted them as fellow-citizens upon certain conditions, having required them to abstain from many rights not worth mentioning. But the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, a part of whom were these Gephyraeans, having settled in this country, introduced among the Hellenes both many other scholastic arts, and especially letters, which the Hellenes, as it seems to me, did not before possess, in the first place, those which all the Phœnicians use; but in process of time, together with the pronunciation, they changed also the 'rhythmus' of the letters.

"But during this period there dwelt round them in most places the Hellenic Ionians, who, having learned from the Phœnicians these letters, after making slight changes in their 'rhythmus,' continued to use them; and, thus using them, they said, as was just, since the Phœnicians had introduced them into Hellas, that they should be called Phœnician. And from old time the Ionians called the Byblus paper *διφθεράς*, because formerly, when scantily supplied with Biblus paper, they used instead tanned skins of goats and sheep; and still within my own memory many of the barbarians write upon such prepared skins. I myself also saw Cadmean letters in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, in the Bœotian tribes, engraved upon certain tripods, most of them similar to the Ionic characters. Now, one of the tripods had this inscription:—

" 'Amphitriton dedicated me on his return from the Teleboans.'

"This return would in time correspond with the age of Laius, the son of Lædæus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus. The second tripod has these hexameters:—

" 'Scaeus in a boxing contest, me to the far-darting Apollo,
Having conquered, dedicated—thy very beautiful ornament.'

"Scaeus would be the son of Hippocoön (that is, if he was the dedicator, and not some one else having the same name as the son of Hippocoön), about the time of Œdipus, the son of Laius. The third tripod is also inscribed with hexameters:—

" 'Laodamas, this tripod to the good archer Apollo,
While he was king, dedicated—thy very beautiful ornament.'

"In the reign of this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were exterminated by the Argives, and went to Encheleis."

Now, if we could trust the honesty and judgment of Herodotus, there would be at once an end of the inquiry; for not

only were the Cadmean letters, with a slight change, similar to the fully developed Ionic alphabet familiar to Herodotus, but the language and metre of the Homeric poems, in full perfection, were both known and written in that early age. In other words, the Phœnician settlers in Bœotia must have brought with them the language of which the oldest specimens known to us are to be found in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and not only this language, but letters similar, in most respects, to that Ionic alphabet which the Athenians did not officially adopt in their public inscriptions, until the archonship of Euclid, B.C. 401. I postpone for the present the philological argument founded on the pure Hellenism of all the proper names assigned to the Cadmeans, as handed down either by tradition or poetry; but, in the mean time, what is to become of the truth and value of the testimony of Herodotus, from whom, according to Mr. Rose, all the light derived from ancient history is to be collected? According to the opinion of almost all our most modern guides on this subject, it must be thrown aside entirely as a mere dream, or a figment by which the priests of the Ismenian Apollo, anxious for the antiquity and honour of their temple, had imposed upon the credulity of Herodotus, and displayed as ancient, false inscriptions fabricated in days comparatively modern. Payne Knight, who, in my younger days, was regarded as an oracle on such subjects, wrote that the whole tale of Cadmus and his Phœnicians in Bœotia was a mere myth, connected with certain mysterious rites. Rose is satisfied with declaring the incompetency of Herodotus to deal with such a question, owing to his ignorance of any other language than his own, and other numerous deficiencies.

"The result of all this," says he, "is, that all things delivered by Herodotus respecting ancient events which took place long before his time, must be received with the greatest caution. Seeing, however, that almost everything I have been saying respecting the times of Herodotus may also be truly alleged respecting the age of Diodorus and Dionysius, what can be more ridiculous than to expect from them information which you will in vain attempt to gain from him?"

Fynes Clinton, although he restores Cadmus and his family to Greece, and although he quotes the passage in Herodotus which ascribes the introduction of letters into Hellas to the Phœnicians, neither notices, nor comments upon, the Ismenian inscriptions, which is the more wonderful, as, while alluding to the fact that Deioeces, King of Media, committed his judgments to writing, he thought proper to add the following note :—

“That the Medes, in the time of Deioeces, should be familiar with writing is nothing wonderful, but that a Greek historian should mention the use of letters as an ordinary matter is worthy of remark.”

Much more worthy of remark, surely, is the statement of Herodotus respecting the Ismenian inscriptions, apparently without the slightest suspicion of their genuine authenticity. By way of explaining such anomalous conduct, I here introduce a quotation from my *Homerus*, which bears upon this subject. It was published fourteen years ago :—

“Nothing is more calculated to puzzle the inquirer into the history of past ages, than the recurrence, under certain circumstances, of a darkness and an obscurity, for which nothing but the supposition that historic facts have on such occasions been wilfully falsified can possibly account. Letters *must* have been introduced into Greece eight or nine centuries before a chronicle of facts in prose appeared. ‘The wisdom and the learning’ of the Egyptians, together with the records of their wonderful history, mock us with all the unreality of a feverish dream, and present us with no materials whence we might reconstruct a living and accurate representation of their singular civilization. When the Hellenic conquerors of Egypt began to take an interest in the history of the wonderful monuments by which they were surrounded, the sullen priests refused to gratify their curiosity, either because the golden key of knowledge had dropped from their hands during the repeated conquests of their country, or because they too faithfully adhered to that system of secrecy which has too often grudged to communicate intellectual light to the mass of mankind. The highly civilized empires of Assyria, Media, Persia, and Lydia, fell, and left no literary monument of their own, to preserve the memory of their name among the nations of the earth. Rome, for the first five hundred years of her existence, had no authentic history; nay, more, the guardians of her records have been convicted of a gross falsification of facts, in order to slur over the disgrace of her conquest by Porsena, and of her destruction by the Gauls. This last nation, with all its great pretensions, and orders of literary classes in poetry

and moral philosophy, in physics and metaphysics, left on record no history which an enlightened Greek or Roman judged worthy of being recorded. The Druids, adhering to the easily corruptible system of *visæ vocæ* instruction which they had imported from the East, loaded the memories of their pupils with twenty thousand lines and more; nevertheless, the records treasured up in this transient and unstable medium have all passed away, and 'left but a wreck behind.' In the same manner, the ancient tribes of Southern Spain possessed a large, and, one would imagine, valuable, literature of ancient poetry. Some of the poems, as Strabo records, contained more than six thousand lines; yet not a fragment of their history and literature has been either adduced in evidence by an ancient writer, or been conveyed to our times by the voice of tradition. For this scantiness of authentic history, and for the quantity, in the case of some nations, of perishable verse, there must exist a cause equivalent to the effect. This cause, as far as may be deduced from the history of the past, appears to be the existence, in any nation, of a body of men, originally set apart for the instruction and guidance of the community in religious matters, but who have eventually abused this sacred trust, and converted it into an engine for enslaving the human mind, and subjecting it to the evils of superstition or fanaticism. The process by which this system of tyranny can best be carried into execution is, in the first place, to misrepresent the history of the past; and, in the second place, by claiming immediate inspiration from the Divinity, to demand unconditional submission to their human inventions, and thus prevent their victims from appealing either to the experience of ages, or the deductions of reason, in opposition to their despotical proceedings. When once the irresponsible voice of the priest is received as the immediate voice of God, the community must submit to its injunctions, not only in the performance of religious duties, but of all functions, domestic, civil, and military. Such was the system according to which the Magi of Media, the Chaldeans of Assyria, the priest caste in Egypt, the Brachmani, or Brachmins, of India, and the Druids of the Western world, swayed for ages the destinies of mighty nations, and yet left no record of their real belief, no rational exposition of their laws, no authentic narrations of their national transactions. Such was the system under which the Hellenic confederacy seems for years to have groaned, until some revolution, not detailed in history, shattered the edifice to its foundation, and brought about that astonishing contrast which is visible between the Achæi, Danai, and Argivi of Homer, and the Hellenes of history."

But, if we cannot trust to Herodotus respecting the origin and antiquity of Hellenic letters, we in vain look for a consistent explanation of their first number and forms, accompanied both with their multiplication and other changes, from any of the subsequent writers. Good authors materially differ

in their accounts, and we are compelled to test their accuracy by the numerous inscriptions on coins and medals, on various vessels, utensils, and ornaments, whether made of metals or of some description of pottery, and argue the question rather on a better basis than the loose and contradictory testimony of authors of various countries and various ages. Now, Herodotus, in the passage quoted above, alludes to three states of the alphabet in Bœotia:—*First*,—The same which was used by all the Phœnicians of his day, and he had visited Phœnicia while Sidon, Tyre, Dora, and Aradus, were undestroyed. *Second*,—The same, with certain changes in form and pronunciation, as seen by him at Thebes. *Third*,—The letters he calls Ionian, “like in most things” to the Phœnician, and which he ascribes to those Ionians who, in early times, were the neighbours of the ancient Cadmeans. We have excellent authority for saying that either one of these three varieties, or perhaps a fourth, was known at an early period in Hellas, seeing that Demosthenes, in one of his speeches, appeals to a very ancient Athenian law, which was inscribed on a pillar, “which pillar even now stands, with its inscription written in Attic letters, not very distinct.”

Harpocration says that the ancient letters were called Attic, and he is confirmed by the observing Pausanias. But to pass over other notices of the Greek alphabet by other authors, I quote here the well-known passage of the elder Pliny:—

“I,” writes he, “always hold that letters were Assyrian in their origin; but some, as Gellius, will have it that they were invented by Mercurius among the Egyptians; others, among the Syrians. It is specially said that Cadmus brought them, being sixteen in number, into Greece from Phœnicia; that, during the Trojan war, Palamedes added four new letters, and Simonides, the lyric poet, contributed the other four. Aristotle writes that the ancient letters were eighteen in number, and that two were added by Epicharmus, not by Palamedes. Anticlides records that one Menon, an Egyptian, invented them fifteen years before the time of Phoroneus.”

There existed formerly a belief that these different states of the alphabet reigned during successive periods, and that, from

their forms and peculiar characters, the time of every inscription, if true and properly copied, might be adequately ascertained. But it is now known that the alphabet to be gathered from the most ancient inscriptions found in Hellas, differs essentially from the alphabet in our Greek grammars, which was concocted we know not how, nor by whom, and introduced into common use, we know not where, nor by what authority. We, however, know that the alphabet of the ancient inscriptions consisted of twenty-seven letters, as may be seen in Rose's *Tables*. Inscriptions in Italy give us an alphabet which must have been carried westward by that vigorous people, who afterwards called themselves Latini. Mr. Rose gives the following letters, taken from genuine inscriptions, as the probable character of the alphabet introduced at some unknown period into Italy:—

A B C D E F H I K Y M N O P O R S T V X Z.

I believe that the two last letters were importations of a very late date, and that this alphabet, without the two last letters, is a fair representation of the Greek letters which Julius Cæsar found in common use among the Gauls, and which may be still seen on the Gaulish coins, minted before the Roman conquest.

Still further westward, among the Britons of our isle, was an ancient alphabet, which, as I have proved in *Gomer*, Part II., contains only eighteen letters, namely,—

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P R S T U O R V,

which agree in number with Aristotle's description of the alphabet of Cadmus. But respecting the origin, variation, and dates of peculiar letters, we are profoundly ignorant, inasmuch that we must come to the same conclusion as Frederic Thiersch, in my opinion the most sane of all German scholars, who thus writes:—

"In truth, all the inscriptions of an ancient age impressed on vases, coins, bronze, and marble, which have come down to us, clearly prove that the written character of the four-and-twenty letters gradually arose, and was as gradually received, among (the European) nations, and that those are in error who

labour to fix the origin and progress of letters at specified periods, and to connect these with distinguished names."

But the point which I have to press on the attention of all serious inquirers into the truth on this subject is this,—that all the lettered remains of ancient times in the Western world are all to be referred to one type—the one which Herodotus saw on the tripod inscriptions at Thebes, and believed to be Phœnician. All these lettered monuments of ancient times differ essentially from the Aramaic inscriptions, of, comparatively speaking, modern date, which have been generally acknowledged as the genuine and authentic representatives of the original Cadmean alphabet. I regard such an acknowledgment as an error, a deep-seated error, which has prevented men from seeing the truth, such as it is revealed in Scripture, that all men are brothers, sprung from a common father and mother, who once were one family, and had one common speech, which, according to Scripture, was miraculously confounded; that from this confusion arose the two highest types of human language, the Semitic and Indo-Celtic dialects, which, from their birth, had a course and a development peculiar to themselves, so that a branch springing from one of them can easily be distinguished from a branch sent forth by the other. As is the case of the two languages, so also, as I believe, was the case with the two alphabets: one did not spring from the other, but both had a common parentage, and the separation was probably cognate with the origin of both languages. The two alphabets also took the same course and development as the two languages, so that a child can at once distinguish between a page printed in any Aramaic dialect, and a page printed in any of our Western Indo-European languages. In confirmation of this, my view of the origin and course of the two languages, I quote the following passage from a pamphlet, written by me thirteen years ago:

"I have from a very early period of my career held and taught, that it must have been in consequence of some extraordinary delusion that so many Christian scholars sought for the origin of Hellenic doctrines in the several

details of the Mosaic law, and the revelations subsequent to its establishment. According to my belief, all the doctrines and practices common to the Hellenic and Hebrew nations are to be traced up to a common source,—patriarchal tradition; while the Mosaic dispensation, with its peculiar laws and customs, was a close system, divinely provided to keep one people distinct from other nations, by building a wall of separation between them, and all with whom they were likely to come in contact; and that the great difficulty in this Theocratic system was to prevent the Israelites from adopting the corrupt traditions and practices of their Gentile neighbours, who are never described as inclined to derive any pure knowledge from the hateful, because godless, as they deemed them, followers of Moses.

“My doctrine went still further, and tended to the conclusion that the language in which Moses embodied his revelation was also (comparatively speaking) a language of separation, and that the long-continued effort to trace the various dialects of the Western world to a Hebrew source, is not among the least striking proofs of the extent to which the errors of good and wise men may be carried, should they commence their inquiries with an inveterate prejudice; and of this character was the glossolatory with which the language of Moses was long and extensively honoured. Should any language have been rationally deemed as more worthy than another, it was assuredly that dialect which the Holy Spirit adopted for the more perfect revelation in Christ, when the wall of separation was thrown down, and when the glad tidings of salvation were to be conveyed to the ends of the earth.”

There was a time when pious men held, almost as a religious tenet, that the first written letters were those inscribed on the two tables of stone by God himself. But we may believe Josephus, when testifying the use of writing, in the remotest period of which he had any cognizance. His words are:—

“The Greeks themselves acknowledge that the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, possess the most ancient and permanent mode of commemorating events, for they all inhabit spots least subject to destructions from that which encloses them, and exercised great foresight, so as not to omit to commemorate their own transactions, but always consecrated them in public writings, composed by their wisest men, so that *there were abundance of writings before the time of Moses.*”

Fynes Clinton, in general a very cautious writer, goes back much further, and says,—

“But the Babylonians, who had made astronomical calculations, B.C. 2233, already possessed the art of writing many ages before the delivery of the law.”

But, as this discussion has nothing to do with any other

ancient language of the Eastern world except the Phœnician, I proceed now to examine those interesting documents which are generally regarded as the true representation of the spoken languages of the ancient Sidonians and Tyrians: these are coins and inscriptions found in considerable numbers in ancient Palestine, in Cyprus, on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and in south-western Spain, and in other localities. The characters of these letters are undoubtedly Semitic in form, and possess other peculiarities which distinguish them from the Hebrew types used by the modern Jews. These latter, as has been supposed, were remodelled after Chaldaic forms, and introduced into Jerusalem after the return from the captivity. On many of the lettered coins are to be found dates; but all such dates as I have had an opportunity of seeing do not mount to the era of the Seleucidæ. Independent Lydia struck coins at a very early period, but unstamped with letters; and so did Darius Hystaspes, and perhaps his successors, but after the model of the early coins of Greece and Lydia. Consequently, as the Hellenes were the first to adopt lettered inscriptions on their coins, those coins with Semitic inscriptions must have been posterior in time to, and an imitation of, their Hellenic models. But Carthage, who so long survived the destruction of her mother city, is described by the best authorities as having left no home specimens of money, bearing Semitic inscriptions, coined before her own destruction. The alphabet on these Syrian, Cyprian, and Sicilian coins, is very deficient in vowels, and without any points. Some of them display so great a variety as to induce Gesenius to suppose that they are Lybian characters, adapted to a Lybian language. But all the Semitic writings, whether called Samaritan, Syrian, Chaldaic, or common Hebrew, are so distinct in type from those displayed in Hellenic, Latin, Gallic, and British inscriptions, that the evidence in proof of their original identity ought to be of the strongest and most unquestionable kind; on the contrary, the arguments that the people who struck these coins, and made such inscriptions, in

the course of the fourth century before Christ, or earlier, were of the same blood, and the same tongue, and had the same letters as those ancient Phœnicians who went with Cadmus into Bœotia, rest on no sufficient grounds. The Samaritans, whose letters are supposed to approach nearest in character to those to be seen on these coins and inscriptions, were Cuthites, transferred from some eastern locality to occupy the grounds vacated by the abduction of the ten tribes by the Assyrians. If we can trust to Josephus, these Samaritan "Advenæ," when the Jews were prosperous, did not fail to call themselves Hebrews, and of the race of Abraham; but, were the Jews in discredit, or under persecution, the Samaritans immediately disowned them, and acknowledged themselves to be Phœnicians; this was their practice in the time of Antiochus, B.C. 168. When this king would have compelled the Jews to renounce their religion, they withstood him with great resolution. But the Samaritans wrote in another strain to Antiochus:—

"That, being originally Sidonians, or Phœnicians, and being now settled in Shechem, they found themselves under the necessity, by reason of many misfortunes, to conform to certain customs and usages of the Jews (as the observation of the Sabbath), and they besought him not to confound them with that people, as they were willing to consecrate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter."—*Calmet, under the word "Samaritan."*

If these Cuthites could so easily claim a descent from the ancient Sidonians, with much more semblance of the truth might the inhabitants of Sidon itself, and other Phœnician cities, claim their descent from the ancient founders of their communities, although they might differ from them in everything but name. We see that their alphabet was the same as the Samaritan, and totally distinct from the Hellenic letters, which, as well as their own, was used in their coins and inscriptions, and principally in localities colonized, or frequented, by those Tyrians who founded Carthage, and disclaimed any connection with Sidonians; and, though we find them on coins bearing the names of late Roman emperors, they never appear

on ancient coins of Northern Gaul and Southern Britain, which, as will be proved hereafter, the earliest Phœnicians discovered and colonized. It will also be shown that the Tyrians of Carthage, who first entered Spain after the close of the first Punic war, never had a regular settlement either in Gaul or Britain. But I draw this paper to a close for the present, as its main object is to prove that the Aramaic letters in dispute cannot be proved to be the representatives of the Cadmean alphabet; nor can the language in which they are written be connected with the Cadmean language of early days. I present the reader with a bi-lingual inscription found at Malta, upon a candelabrum dedicated to Hercules:—

לאדנו למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר
 עבדך עבדאסר ואדני אסר-שמר
 שו בו אסר-שמר בו עבדאסר כשמע
 קלם יברכם

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ Ο ΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΥΡΡΙΟΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ
 ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ,

i.e. "Dionysius and Serapion, the sons of Serapion, Tyrians, have dedicated these to Hercules, the Prince;"

and would respectfully ask any man who is acquainted with ancient inscriptions in the various Western languages, in letters which may be referred to a common origin, if the Greek letters here presented could have been derived from these Aramaic characters? With respect to the date, we can only refer it to a period when the prevalence of the Greek language was encroaching upon the Syrian dialects. Suppose we ascribe it to the beginning of the second century before Christ? This would give, according to the lowest date assigned by Fynes Clinton to Cadmus, an interval of some eleven hundred years between the hero and the inscription, during which the metamorphosis of the Greek alphabet is supposed to have taken place; but the interval in which it took place is much shorter.

Undoubted specimens of coins, and also of inscriptions, belonging to the seventh century B.C. are still existent, and

show no tendency to any such portentous changes. Were the metamorphosis a fact, it must have been sudden and miraculous; but it was not so. From their first appearance to their present state, the two alphabets were specifically different, and had nothing in common but the name. The elements from which the two sets of characters both sprang might be similar in power, and arranged in the same order, but there does not seem to be any further connection between them; but there was a radical difference between the mode in which they were applied. The Semitic characters are cryptographic, and required a *viva voce* instructor; the Cadmean have nothing secret about them, and their notes are patent to every body without the aid of either masoretic points or a living instructor. The work of Gesenius on these Semitic inscriptions, which he calls Phœnician monuments, is a proof that the key by which their meaning can be discovered is not within his grasp, nor of the other German or French scholars, who either agree or differ with him in his interpretations. The subject needs further inquiries. These investigations are especially Christian, for, where Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle saw only barbarians, we see brethren—children of the same father; where the Greeks saw only a confused mass of tribes, or of races, separated by seas and deserts, and severed by national enmity, and having often a strong belief that they were “*Terræ Filii*,”—the spontaneous produce of the soil which they inhabited,—we see our kinsmen, toiling and suffering indeed, but advancing gradually, although with occasional lapses and retrograde steps, to the fulfilment of the purpose for which the world was created, and man, the image of his Maker, was placed over it.

THE
WRITTEN RECORDS OF THE CUMRI.

I HAVE elsewhere stated the grounds which led me to conclude, that the earliest migrations during which the dispersed inhabitants of Central Asia moved to their Western settlement, were principally conducted by sea, and not by land; and that emigrants reached Southern Spain, the British Islands, and continental shores immediately adjacent to them, at a very early period of the postdiluvian world. The evidence adduced in support of my conclusions is arranged under the heads of historical records, direct or indirect, to be traced in ancient writers; of articles of commerce, such as tin and amber, peculiar to this island and to the shores of the Northern seas, and largely imported into regions bordering on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean seas, long before Greece began to write trustworthy histories; of ancient monuments of stone, found in all these islands and the adjacent maritime coasts of Western Europe, and also in all countries which are generally supposed to have been held by our ancestral or by kindred races; and, above all, of the existence of a common language, which, though now separated and fractured into minuter parts among the various branches of the same race, still retains unmistakable marks of original identity.

More than one ancient philosopher, tempted by a specious theory founded on the supposition that human progress was liable to periodical decadence and renewal, thought that the course of the human intellect might not be inaptly illustrated by contemplating the effects produced on our earthly globe by the apparent revolutions of the heavenly bodies. The least-

observant watcher of the face of nature could not fail to discover, that the electrical action of the vernal sun stimulated the genial properties inherent in the soil, and imparted life and vigour to every body capable of being quickened. That, next, the more powerful activity of the summer sun, borne, as it were, in his solstitial car, shot downward his fiery and perpendicular rays, so as to ripen and harden those cereal seeds of which the bread of man is principally composed, and caused the well-tilled fields to assume the golden hues of harvest; but that the autumnal sun, although striking the earth at the same angle and at the same distance as the vernal, exercised rather a noxious than a genial influence, and caused the vegetable world to fade away beneath his withering glance, until it apparently perishes in the icy grasp of winter—sure, however, again to revive and respond to the electric shock of returning spring.

But the comparison is better fitted to please the poetic, than to satisfy the philosophic, mind. The revolutions of the earth and the heavenly bodies are physical and regular, moving unerringly according to the laws which inexorably confine them within their several orbits. But the human intellect labours under no such physical necessity. It neither suffers periodical decay nor periodical revivals. In surveying the past history of man, we find that the activity of the mind has only continued for a brief period of the career of the early civilized races, after which it seems to suffer a complete collapse, from which many nations, once memorable, have never, as yet, recovered.

The fixed form of oriental civilization should not be regarded as the slumber consequent upon too long continued an activity, but as the necessary sequences of cunningly devised systems excogitated by man, to enable the comparative few to keep in dull subjection the debased multitude, by fettering their minds with chains which, although secret and invisible, can never, when once made fast, be rent asunder by unaided human efforts.

In Europe, and especially among the Greek Iapetidæ, we witness, in ancient times, two periods of great intellectual activity: one long anterior to history, during which was elaborated that Hellenic language which still lives in the Homeric poems as the lasting monument of the great mental powers of the race.

This first period of light closed in darkness, through which nothing reached the historic Greeks except these same poems, and the language and the literature of the wise forefathers of not altogether degenerate descendants. Out of the broken fragments and ruins of the ancient edifice arose, principally in Attica—a very narrow corner of the Hellenic world—a new form of civilization, based principally on sensual, artistic, and scientific grounds. But these admirers of beauty and art failed to realize the great truth, that the happiness of man cannot be secured on any principles which either neglect or deny his spiritual nature—the only medium through which he can become cognizant of his personal relations to his Maker, and of his duties both to Him and his fellow-creatures.

I need not say, that a civilization, thus deficient, gradually fell away from its culminating point, and finally ended in a general disbelief—first, of the popular creed; secondly, in an intellectual blindness, which prevented those visited by it from perceiving that there was a God in the creation—from being conscious that an immortal spirit dwelt in their own perishable bodies.

The non-creed of the Greek philosopher naturally caused him to shrink from those laborious duties necessarily connected with the due discharge of man's high commission, as the instrument appointed by God himself for subduing the earth, and replenishing its whole reclaimable surface with rational and responsible beings.

Degenerate Greece had, long before its downfall, ceased to send colonies into distant lands; and her footsteps in this downward career had been faithfully followed by Imperial Rome, who, under her military despots, withered from the

roots all the hardihood, the stern energies, and laborious perseverance of the primitive Sabino-Roman.

A far different spirit seems to have prevailed in the earlier ages among those nations who rushed from their Eastern homes to occupy the swamps, marshes, and forests of the European world, and to prepare them to become fit habitations of civilized man. For we learn from undoubted sources of information, that the first recorders of events who visited these our Western Isles, found the inhabitants completely furnished with all the animals, vegetables, minerals, and implements, necessary for the maintenance of civilization, and which failed to move further west for more than three thousand years.

Old Homer, ages before the philosophers of Greece suggested infanticide and libertinage as wise checks upon a surplus population, had sung of lands untilled by the hand and untrodden by the foot of man, which required nothing but human labour to change them from howling wildernesses into smiling gardens.

Such a land was thus described by him :—

“ In front was a low island. It was woody and furnished food to goats untamed by man. These are not disturbed by him, nor are they visited by hunters, *who undergo great hardships while making their way through deep forests or laboriously climbing over mountain ranges.* Nor do sheep and kine frequent it, nor has it been ploughed, but has always remained untilled and unsown : unvisited by man, it furnishes food only to bleating goats. For the Kuklopes, who inhabit the nearest land, have no ships nor shipwrights able to construct serviceable vessels, fit to convey the produce of their land to the cities of the world : produce of various kinds, which men by means of sea-traversing ships mutually exchange with each other. Were men of this character to discover the island, they would soon colonize it and cultivate the ground. For the soil is fruitful, and would bear all fruits in their seasons. For along the shores of the foaming sea lie strips of land, flat and well watered. And here the vine would flourish ; and here is arable ground from which, in due season, heavy crops might be raised, because the mould is deep. There is, also, a safe harbour, where a ship might ride securely without casting anchor or fastening a cable to the shore. There, sailors, having touched, might wait their own leisure, or until a favourable breeze invited them to set sail. At the upper end of the harbour flows a stream of pure water, springing in a rocky cavern overgrown by trees.”

This description of a fruitful island, not inhabited by man, shows that Homer believed that in the time of the Trojan war there may have been many such spots in the far-west unoccupied by man.

One of the islands in the Atlantic, visited by the Carthaginians about the middle of the fifth century before Christ, is described by Avienus, in his account of their voyage, as being tenanted by goats alone; while the beautiful Madeira lay undiscovered, or at least uninhabited, by man until the period of the Portuguese voyages in rather recent times.

But our islands, even long before the Trojan war, had been visited and colonized by men who had reached them in sea-traversing ships, had colonized them, and imported from the East the sheep, the kine, the horse, the plough with its accompaniments, and all the material aids which the emigrants had inherited from their Caucasian forefathers, and also, as I firmly believe, the Cadmean alphabet, consisting of only eighteen letters, being the very same as the ancient British and Irish elementary characters.

But the Druids, unlike the hereditary priest castes of the Eastern world, owed their sacro-sanct character, not to blood and race, but to a long-continued course of instruction, from which they were supposed to emerge a wiser, more sober, a better informed, and a more learned class, than any other portion of the community.

A course of studies similar to those described by me in a preceding paper, must have been based on documents accessible, perhaps, only to a few, but written either in cryptic characters, or in those which were commonly used for commercial purposes, and carrying on the ordinary business of human life.

We are expressly told by Julius Cæsar, that the Gallic disciples, who wished to finish their studies in Druidic lore, resorted for that purpose to Great Britain, where, as he was informed, this hierarchal institute originated. Traditions concerning the origin of the nation, and of their forefathers,

whether true or false, as in all other similar cases, must necessarily have formed one of the main branches of instruction, both in Gaul and Great Britain. And, as the Druids of this island survived all the Roman attempts to extirpate them, the stream of tradition is likely to have continued unbroken down to the revival of the Cumric supremacy, immediately following the expulsion of the Romans at the commencement of the fifth century before Christ.

When a Druid instructor was persuaded of the general truth of Christianity, he had fewer prejudices to surmount than any other civilized heathen of the ancient world, and would willingly, while avowing his new faith, submit, not only to be baptized, but also to receive from his new superiors a commission to resume his functions as an authorized teacher and instructor in the doctrines of his new faith.

But old habits cannot easily be shaken off; and the converted Druid would naturally feel reluctant to consign to letters, and thus eventually to make patent to all, the information which had previously been impressed upon the memory of the disciples by *viva voce* instruction.

I have, in another paper on Gallic Coins, shown how slowly and unwillingly both Gauls and Britons adopted the Greek and Roman practice of inscribing letters on their coins, and the probability that those Britons who refused to Romanize, renounced altogether the art of coining money, as an innovation introduced by foreigners, and not consistent with the principles of the Druidical religion.

It is a memorable fact, that the inscribed stones found principally in Cornwall and Wales, and which are referred to Christianized Britons, while yet independent of Rome and of the Saxons, were drawn up in the Latin language, and in Latin characters. Nor am I aware that, with the exception of proper names, there exists a single sentence of the Cumraeg inscribed on any material at an earlier period than the sixth century. Up to that period the rich, copious, and venerable

language, which has been transmitted safely to our times, must principally have lived on the lips of men, and have been stored in the treasury of memory.

Even after the Christianized Druids had ceased to preserve their literary monopoly, the habit which had so long prevailed, of condensing knowledge into the shortest compass, survived the policy which had originated it; and we have still extant many poems which bear unmistakable traces of having been fashioned after Druidical models. These contain great stores of the materials of their knowledge, thrown together in a very loose and unmethodical style, scarcely intelligible without the aid of a living instructor.

But I leave them for future consideration, and now proceed to examine certain prose fragments, which, under the names of Triads, have reached our times, and were printed in the *Myfyrian Archaeology* in the year 1801. They were once three hundred in number, as we are informed by Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, a learned bard, herald, and antiquarian, who flourished about two hundred and fifty years ago, and from whose copy the printed fragments of the Triads were taken.

"These Trinds," wrote Thomas Jones, "were copied by me, Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, from the Book of Caradog of Nantgarvan, and from the Book of Jean Brechfa. And these were all that I could procure out of the three hundred, 1601.—N.B. The death of Caradog of Nantgarvan (Langarvan) is said to have occurred A.D. 1156."

As the two authors from whom Mr. Jones, as he states himself, copied the 126 which alone he could recover, lived long before the conquest of Wales by the first Edward, and before Cambrian literature and scholarship were, by the united craft and violence of pope-ridden England, persecuted and all but crushed, the testimony of Jones will, if believed (and I see no reason to doubt his veracity), carry the existence of these fragments in a written form to the middle of the twelfth and thirteenth century; and it is by transcribers of that age that

the greater part of the most ancient Cumric documents were transmitted to posterity.

But the inhabitants of Great Britain, who wish to see the records of their own history as preserved by the most ancient occupiers of the soil, were they to reject them, would act as foolishly as if the historic Hellenes had refused to receive the Homeric poems, merely because they could not be satisfactorily traced to their first composer and first transcriber.

The value of such documents must depend on internal evidence alone; and if the accounts contained in them respecting the first inhabitants of our island have a greater resemblance to truth than the early narratives of all the great nations of the world, with the exception of the Israelites, this fact alone will entitle them to receive the careful examination of all inquirers into the *origines* of the human races, and impress upon them a higher character than is due to the myths, dreams, and fables of other ancient nations.

We are told in the first Triad, that before this island was inhabited it was called Clâs Mer-din, that is, Sea-Ton-close. Second, i Vel Inis, either the "honey island," if we take the V to be the servile form of Mel; or "Bel's Island," if we take the Vel to be the representative of Bel—the sun-god, after whom the Breton priests are to this day called Beleks: and that it was named Prudain after one of its kings. This was undoubtedly the name it bore when it first became known to the historic Greeks, who called it Pretan-is, corrupted by the Romans into Britan-nia. "And no one has a rightful claim to the island except the race of the Cumri, because they were the first to land on it; and before that, no human beings lived in it, but it was full of bears, wolves, beavers, and mountain oxen."

In the fourth Triad we are told, that one of the pillars of the race of the Cumri was Hu Cadarn, who first conducted them into Prudain. And they came from the summer-land called Defrobani, and across a hazy sea they came, both to the island Prudain and Litau (Armorica), where they settled.

In the fifth Triad we read that the Cumri were the first peaceful colonizers of the island, because their first leader was not willing to gain lands by battles and extermination, but to acquire them justly and peaceably. That they gave peaceful admittance to a kindred tribe named Ligures, who came over from Guasguin (Gascony); that these two colonies were subsequently joined by the Brithon, another kindred race who came from Litau; and that the three tribes were cognate, and spoke a common language.

In the sixth Triad is recorded "the arrival of two tribes, not of the race of the Cumri, but admitted to dwell in the island by the permission and under the protection of the dominant race. The first was the 'Civitas Caledonum,' Ciudad Celidon, in the North. The second was the Gwithel Race, 'Al Withel,' and in the Alban they are. They were allowed land within certain boundaries, but could not be admitted to equal rights and privileges until the ninth generation."

Now, it is as clear as day that Geoffrey of Monmouth, the contemporary of Caradoc, of Nantgarvan, to whom he recommended the continuation of the *History of Wales under its Princes*, and those of his council, were aware of the existence of these fragments when they sat down to forge their lying fables, and invented the myths, on which they founded their systems.

In their days the Britons—a name derived from the Brithon of the Triads—had become the general name of all the inhabitants of the island. Hence, Britis or Brutus was made to replace the oriental chief who had conducted the Cumri from the summer shores of Defro-bani, first to Armorica, and eventually to the Wen Inis—the white island—probably a haphazard allusion to the ancient word, "Albion." And as all the Ligures, Loigerais, had become Saxons, with the exception of those in Cernui (Cornwall), and in the commot of Carnoban, in Deira and Bernicia, they were regarded as the most powerful British race. Locrinus, their mythical representative, was therefore made the eldest son of Britis, and

declared King of England to the east of the Severn and south of the Humber, and the lord paramount of all the island; while the Cumrian race, reduced in power, and occupying, with certain differences, the present Wales, was represented by the mythical Camber, the second son of Britis, and deprived of his long-asserted supremacy as the rightful heir of the monarchy of the island, "unbeneth Inis Prudan." The island north of the Humber, of which the forgers apparently did not know much more than that the name Alban, described in the Triad as the habitation of the Guithelian and Caledonian races, with some remnants of the original people, probably the inhabitants of Cumbria and Strath Clyde, who had refused to become Saxons, was represented by a third son of Britis, named Albanactus.

To represent the people in the south-western corner of the island called Cernè or Cornubia, and which had long maintained its own independence, language, rights, and dignities, a mythical chief was invented, called Corineus the giant-killer, and reputed father-in-law of Locrinus.

In the fifty-sixth Triad, we read that Hu Gadarn was the first of three benefactors of the race of the Cumri, as he taught them "i ari tir" (*arare terram*), to "ear the ground," when they were as yet in summer-land, before they removed to the island Prudain.

These are very remarkable ethnological traditions, in full conformity with the ascertained history of the first Eastern emigrants to the shores of Britain and the adjoining coast of central Gaul, and with still existing facts, and can in no degree be supposed to have been excogitated by Jones of Tregaron, in the year A.D. 1601, when the splendid romances of Geoffrey of Monmouth were still believed to be veracious chronicles by the great body of his countrymen.

They are utterly free from the myths, figments, and bare-faced falsehood to which the Hellenic Greeks, Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Persians, Indians, &c., refer as constituting the only records of their national origin.

True it is, that in the course of time we gather intimations that the great patriarch of the Cumri, who conducted them from summer-land to the island Prudain, was the sun-god known also by the derivative Huan, as both the visible sun and the god of harmony.

For particulars respecting his identification with the patriarch Noah, and with his supposed residence in the ark, and with the descriptions of him by medieval poets as the supreme god of this world, the inquiring reader is referred to my work, *Gomer*, Part II. Nor is it to be supposed that the Druids, after their conversion to Christianity, falsified their own traditions, in order to bring them into harmony with the Hebrew Scriptures. So far was this from being the case, that they preserved, with respect to the deluge itself, their own peculiar form of the tradition in which, as in similar claims of most ancient nations, the world at large is symbolized by their own land and people.

Thus, in the thirteenth Triad, we read of three perilous mishaps of the island Prudain. The first was the outburst of the ocean, Torriad Lin Lion, "when a deluge spread over the face of all lands, so that all mankind were drowned, with the exception of Duiv-van and Duiv-ach, the divine man and the divine woman, who escaped in a decked ship without sails; and from this pair the island Prudain was completely repeopled."

This tradition was common to them and all the civilized races, as was also another, that a destruction by fire was to be the fatal end of this globe. But they had, in addition, a distinct tradition, that previous destructions of the earth had taken place, with the animals and vegetables then existing, of which whole races were thus irrevocably lost. This tradition, which is in complete harmony with the discoveries of modern geology, is thus embodied in the same thirteenth Triad:—"The second perilous mishap was the terror of the torrent-fire, when the earth was cloven down to the abyss, and the majority of the living things were destroyed. The third was the ardent summer, when the wood and herbs, from the discord (an-cerd)

and heat of the sun, and many men with their flocks and herds perished, and whole races of birds and beasts and of trees and herbs were irrevocably lost." I cannot refer to any tradition of lost races of animals and vegetables in any other system of physiology other than the Druidical.

The knowledge of the mechanical powers possessed by the first inhabitants of this island is patent, from the megalithic structures raised, both in these islands and all other countries occupied by kindred races, which still remain imperishable monuments of mechanical skill and motive power.

Some of these ancient works are commemorated in the Triads as trophies of the skill and strength of the ancient races of the island. Thus, in Triad Eighty-eight are described "the three lasting works of Inis Prudain:—the erection of the Maen Cetti, the building of the work of Emris, and the heaping up the pile of Cuvrancon."

Most probably "cetti," not a dictionary word, is a corrupted form of "cedti," a treasury-house, and the proper translation of the words of the Triad is, "one of the lasting works of Inis Prudain is the creation of the stone treasury-house;" and most permanent and lasting it has proved, if it be that remarkable British monument in Kent which is vulgarly called Kit's Coiti House.

I have elsewhere said, that both this monument, and also others in Wales and France, suit the description given by Pausanias of the *aduton*, or sanctuary in the Temple at Delphi, which was a megalithic chamber, well calculated to become a place of security in time of danger for the valuables of the priests.

In the magnificent ode to be sung while approaching the mystic temple, which was partially translated by me in *Gomer*, Part II., occurs the following line:—

Adwin e caer ài cuvriu ced-au,—

Pleasant the city with its various treasures.

So that we have every reason to believe that in all such sacred buildings there were treasure-chambers. The word Coi-ti,

which has not been changed by Saxon lips, is pure Cumric, and means a hollow house, "cav um teg-tum."

The second lasting monument of Inis Prudain, Gwaith Emris, is unmistakably Stonehenge, the work attributed by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers to Aurelius Ambrosius and his magician friend Merlin.

But this lasting work had been erected on the centre spot of consecrated ground in which the bodies of the kings and chiefs of the island had been buried for more than a thousand years before the days of Aurelius Ambrosius; and it had evidently been presented, like many other similar *τεμενη*, to the British Church by some of the Christianized kings of the island. And one of the great Bangors, "high choirs," of the British Church had been erected somewhere on the sacred domain. The words of Triad Eighty-four run thus:—"The three chief Cuv-van-cor of Inis Prudain are these: the Bangor of warrior Iltid, in Caer Worgorn; the Cor of Emris, in Caer Caradoc; and the Gwidrin Bangor, in the Inis Avalen."

Caer Caradoc is undoubtedly the stupendous British work which still crowns the height on which old Saron, the city of the Saronidæ, once stood, and within which was erected the Cor Emris, representing the name alone of the Druidical temple; Ambres-bury, the Bury of Ambres, also preserves the sacred name, and, with its convent of nuns, was built on the widely extending domains of the Druids.

The connection of the word Amber with Druidical stones, and with numerous places all over the island, has yet to be explained; although I have little doubt that it may be traced to the "*Petræ Ambrosiæ*" inscribed on a medal, said to be struck by the Tyrians, and which are written beneath two pyramidical stones. It was not certainly from the Latin language that the French borrowed their common name "*Pierre*," by which almost all the "*Hir-mein*" in various parts of France are known.

The third lasting work of Inis Prudain, "*Turri Cludair Cuvrancon*," in bad Latin, "*Turrire acervum co-ordinatorum*

(Lapidum)," paraphrased in English, "to build up tower-like a heap of stones ranked or arranged in order." The description cannot be applied to any other structure in this island than the famous Cornish monument, commonly called the Cheese Wring.

I will not enter into the question whether this singular accumulation of apparently detached stones be a natural phenomenon or the work of man, or the result of both combined: but, from the remains of other Druidical monuments in the immediate vicinity, I have not the slightest doubt that it had attracted the attention of the Druids, and been made subservient to some superstitious rites.

It says much for their judgment that they could foretell the lasting duration of a structure, whether natural or artificial, which one would expect to see overthrown in the course of every ensuing winter, either by the violence of weather or the tendency which such toppling crags must have to overstep the centre of gravity and tumble to the ground.

Among "the strong men" of Inis Prudain recorded in the sixteenth Triad, is enumerated "Googan Lawgadarn," *Anglicé*, "stern look of the strong hand," "who rolled from the valley to the summit of the hill, 'Maen Maenarch,' which no fewer than sixty oxen could draw." The word Maenarch is made up of "Maen" and "arch," an ambiguous word, not only representing the Latin "arca," an ark, but also meaning a prayer or petition. "Maenarch" may, therefore, either mean "lapis precis" or "lapis arcæ."

That it was a "maen chwiv," or *quivering* stone, may safely be conjectured from its position when compared with other Logan or rocking stones in other parts of the world, as described by me in preceding papers. And the name "Googan," plural "Gigon," must remind an observing student both of the "Horrenda rupes" of Pliny, and of the "Gigonian rock" of Ptolemy Hephaestio, placed by him on the shores of the ocean, both of which were highly sensitive rocking-stones.

The Cumri, like the Greeks, claimed the discovery of all the arts and sciences for some members of their own country, in times generally anterior to history, as can be seen in the following passage taken from the Triads 91 and 97 :—

“Among the beneficent mechanics of Inis Prudain are commemorated Corvinor, the Bard of Ceri-hir, of Lingwin, who first made for the race of the Cumri a ship, a sail, and a rudder; and Mordal, a man of the sea, the mason of Ceraint, son of Greidiol, who first taught the race of the Cumri to build with stone and lime, at the time when the Emperor Alexander was subduing the world.”

From this observation we may safely infer, that the authors of this Triad must have known that all the more ancient constructions in the island were not cemented with lime mortar.

Two of the three great works of the Inis Prudain were, the ship of Nevid Nav Neivion, which received a male and female of every living thing when the Lin Lion burst; and the stone tables of Gwidon Canhebon, “the guide with the bright words,” on which might be read “all the arts and sciences of the world.”

Many other notices in the Triads illustrative of facts, laws, and customs, known to be real, might be adduced; but the present lecture must draw to a conclusion. I must, however, first call your attention to this, that many Triads state as facts generally true, which were only true at particular times and under particular circumstances.

Nor let any one be moved by the thought, that tradition could not retain any trustworthy remembrances respecting any such remote ages. All general truths have their particular exception, and our long-cherished memorials of the past form one of those exceptions. Our people, from the remotest times, dwelt in this island, to which they had emigrated with all the means of civilization inherited from the patriarchal age.

In their isolated position, apart from the rest of the world, and long unassailed by foreign invaders, they cherished their laws and religion, embodied in one of the most expressive and best developed languages that was ever spoken upon the face of

our globe. And, as that language still remains in all its lingual, although not orthographical, purity, it is not likely that any great truth connected with our name and race has altogether disappeared. Hostile masters, with a hostile religion, could alone have succeeded in producing such a lamentable and melancholy result. But we, the primitive inhabitants, were not subjected to any foreign invader before the written record had replaced the less durable traditionary memorials; for the coins of Cunobelinus prove, that the public use of letters was adopted by the Britons long before the Claudian invasion.

Listen, therefore, to the words of the sixty-seventh Triad, which records in written language the memory of ancient days with respect to the physical disturbances which have varied the form and figure of our island :—

“The three original pre-eminent islands of Inis Prudain are, Orc, Manau, and Gwith—*Anglicé*, Orkney, Man, and Wight; and in process of time the sea made inroads upon the land, so that Môn became an island. In the same manner the island Orc was broken up, so that it became a multitude of islands; and other portions of Alban and of the land of the Cumri became islands.”

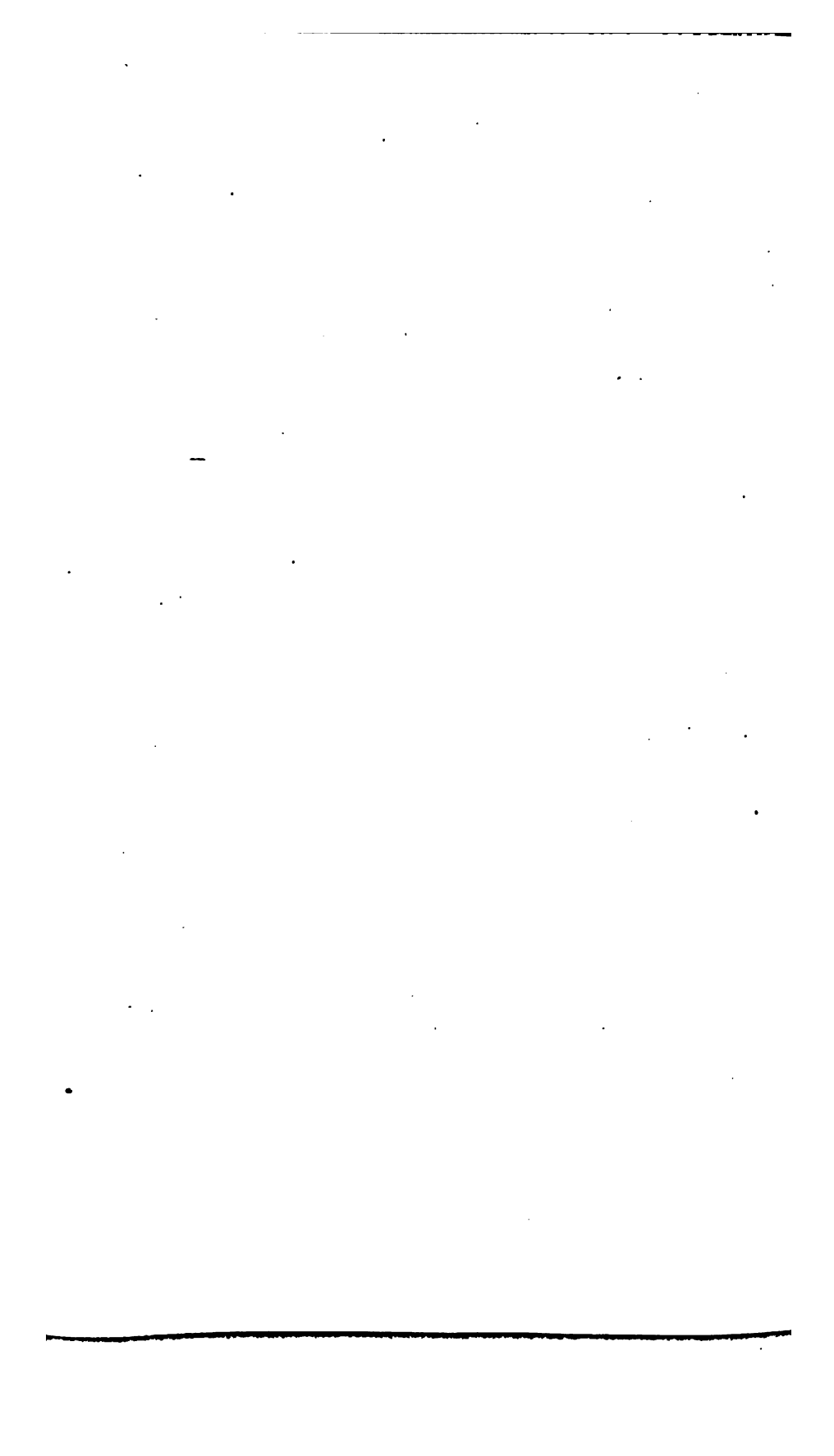
We now know from geological proofs what wild work the Atlantic Ocean has done on our western shores, from the Land's End to the storm-swept Orcades; and the tradition with respect to the fact, that the waves of Cardigan Bay now roll over what was once a well-watered plain covered with flourishing cities, is as familiar on the lips of all the dwellers on this coast as it was in the third and fourth generation after the event occurred, although the time assigned for it is far less remote than the actual occurrence, as the work of the geographer Ptolemy plainly shows that our shores, when he described them, did not much vary from their present form. Tradition tells the same tale of the western shores of Cernui, and in the vicinity of the Menai Straits, although with a considerable variation with respect to dates. Similar tales are told by the present occupiers of the Hebrides and Orcades. And, although the latter group has passed into the hands of an alien and hostile race, they still abound with megalithic

monuments ; and we probably owe this venerable record respecting the once continuous island of Orc to those Druids who worshipped in the great monolithic temple in Pomona, which is inferior in magnitude alone to the great sanctuaries of Abury and Stonehenge.

This temple was long ascribed to the Scandinavian conquerors of the Orcades, by men who were determined to recognize in the ancient Briton nothing but a helpless savage ; but it is now unanimously restored to its true founders, seeing, as has been well observed, " that its stones were grey with the moss of centuries long before the first Norwegian prow touched the shores of Pomona."

I here repeat, what I have often said before, and what I wish deeply to impress upon the memories of my young and thoughtful hearers, that the stone monuments generally supposed to be Druidical, were the works of a race of men who had Druids for their priests and instructors, and who occupied this island from east to west, from north to south, in times far anterior to the commencement of profane history, whose fathers were immigrants descended from the postdiluvian civilizers of the earth, who, after their settlement here, supplied Europe, Asia, and Africa with the tin of their mines, which entered into the composition of bronze, the metal most in use in early ages, and that their language was the Cumraeg, and that the knowledge of that language and its literary treasures, seems to present to the learned world the sole chance of recovering the prehistoric annals of the profane world.

The learned have long refused to acknowledge this great and valuable truth ; but, in spite of all obstruction, it will eventually force itself upon the public notice, and be hailed as the one great light in a field of observation which is now covered with a thick darkness.



ON THE

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CUMRAEG
AND THE GAELEG.

BEFORE this investigation be further carried out, it is necessary to affirm, positively and firmly, that long anterior to the arrival of Julius Cæsar on these shores, Great Britain and Ireland were occupied by two races who spoke languages mutually unintelligible to each other, and who could not have held any intercourse, social or commercial, without the aid of an interpreter, and that the difference between them is certainly as great as that between the Greek and Latin, with this unmistakable character—that the Gaelic or Irish tongue is in closer connection with the Latin, the Cumric with the Greek; and this is shown in the altered form of the numerals, which both Greeks, Latins, Gaels, and Cumri, must have brought with them from their Eastern home.

The first three numerals, *one, two, three*, present no great change of form, with this exception, that the Cumric has "Dwy" and "Tair" for feminine nouns, instead of "Dau or Doi" and Tri, the masculines. Proofs of the existence of these forms in older times, and in remote regions, are to be seen in the Homeric *δωοι* and the Indian "Dooab," in Cumric Dwyav (two rivers), and in the Latin "Ter," which must have sprung from "Tair," three times.

But in the numerals *four* and *five*, an organic change is visible, which, when once established, must always have remained a monument of permanent separation.

The numeral *four* is written in the Homeric language τεσσαρες and τεσσερες; in Cumric *Peduar* masculine, *Pedeir* feminine; in Latin *Quatvor*; in Gaelic *Cethir*, corrupted among the Scottish Gaels into *Chur* and *Char*, which forms are also found in the Indian languages.

The numeral *five* is in the Homeric form πεντε and πεμπε, probably the older; in the Cumric "Pimp," "Pump," and "Pemp"; in Latin *Quingue* or *Cinque*; in Gaelic *Co-eg* and *Co-ig*. This radical confusion between the labials B and P, with the gutturals G and C, pervades the four languages, and divides the Cumric and the Greek into one class, the Gaelic and the Latin into another.

It also serves another purpose. It enables us to discover to which of these two classes belonged the language of the people who inhabited Central Gaul and passed over into Italy, conquered Rome, and settled in Cisalpine Gaul: hence many of their words passed into Roman use; and two words of Gallic origin, but adopted by the Romans, *Petor-rit-um*, a four-wheeled chariot, compound of *Pedair*, and *Rhid*, *Rhod*, or *Rheda*, a wheel, and *Pempedula*, compounded of *Pempe* and *Dail*, "leaves," prove clearly that the people who used them were of the Cumric race.

It is deeply to be deplored that these two ancient languages, coexistent with the known inhabitants of these islands, and both abounding in the most valuable materials for illustrating not only the history of the component parts of this great empire, but of mankind in general, and the progress of knowledge and civilization, should have remained so long an unknown subject to the literary world of Europe: prejudices long fostered, political maxims founded on the ancient principle "*Væ Victis*," and the prevalent desire among dominant nations first to keep down, and then to absorb into their own body, van-

quished populations, all concurred in producing that state of things in one island which, for want of a worse name, may well be called the Irish difficulties of England.

The Irish nation, deemed sacred from the most ancient times, kept apart from the Roman world, and which had never passed through the crucible of Roman conquest, became willing converts to the faith of Christ, and, with the religion, received the civilization of the Roman world. This they cultivated with such success, that, without neglecting their own, they were, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, regarded as the great luminaries of the Western world. Peace, prosperity, and consequent luxury, produced the usual consequences, and they had to undergo from invading Danes or Scandinavians, whom they called Ostmen, a systematic series of devastations, massacres, and extermination, which nearly erased the vestiges of their civilization. Inured to war by long-continued hardships, they first vanquished, and then drove out, the Danes, and recovered something of their former splendour, but much obscured.

Soon after came the Pope and the Norman King, who claimed Ireland as a joint possession, as a divine inheritance; and under this flagitious claim destroyed the chiefs and reduced the people to serfdom, under which they groaned for centuries. To cultivate a literature which was ignored, and a language which was proscribed, was impossible: hence a long-continued and deep slumber. The two Churches of England and Rome have, both of them, equally sinned against the nationality of Ireland, with this exception, that in the case of two Englishmen, bishops—the learned Usher and the pious Bedell—attempts were made to illustrate their ancient and venerable antiquities, and to preach the Gospel in words “understanded by the people.”

Wales received far different treatment, and for the last four hundred and fifty years gave no trouble to dominant England. She neither disturbed her by rebellions, nor annoyed her by

claims for pecuniary help when weighed down by poverty. Nay, more than this, she never, during the whole of that period, ceased to devote herself to literary pursuits, and to cultivate her own language, but she took care that none should know what she was doing; for at that period she adopted a system of orthography the most uncouth and barbarous the world ever saw, and suited to an orthoepy which was patronized in that day.

ON THE

GREAT ETHNOLOGICAL THEORY.

THE theory which has been adopted as the favourite principle of the leading ethnological writers in modern times, rests on the supposition that the fact, that there once existed a primary language, is true; but the inferences which they draw from it seem to me not only illogical, but in a great degree gratuitous.

They suppose that when the confusion of tongues took place, there remained at the central point a people, who, in possession of the primitive language in its original purity and simplicity, advanced gradually in the knowledge of other arts and sciences, and especially in the complete development of language as a fit instrument to express the thoughts of man.

They next supposed that the sacred language of the Bramin conquerors of Hindostan, which is called Sanscrit, might be taken as a specimen of the comparative perfection at which the original language had gradually attained, and might be safely used as a standard, by the proper application of which might be calculated the periods of time at which certain migratory hordes, destined afterwards to become great nations, had swarmed from the parent hive.

Another supposition was necessary before any use could be made of this standard, and this was to the following effect: that while the gradual growth of the parent stock was freely

assumed, the like privilege was denied to the offshoot, which necessarily through ages kept in a stereotyped form in their new seats that language which they had acquired before they left their central home.

The principle on which this theory rests may be plainly shown in this way: suppose that the knowledge of numbers was a gradual acquisition, and that a tribe in Central Africa was found capable of counting a thousand, and other tribes could not go beyond five, ten, or a hundred, jump to the conclusion at once that those three tribes broke away at three successive periods, when the numeration table of the parent stock was severally represented by five, ten, and a hundred.

But the argument founded on analogy was pressed further into the service. As all beings endowed with life gradually attain to their perfection, so it was assumed that language, having once attained that point of perfection, was, like vegetables and animals, subject to the same course of gradual decay and final decomposition. And of this process there was historical proof of the most satisfactory kind furnished by the changes which the stately Latin had to undergo before the modern languages of Southern Europe were gradually formed from its decomposed elements, and this in defiance of the sacred character which the Latin language had acquired by its general adoption in the worship of God, in the schools of instruction, and in the business of the state.

The inference was not to be resisted, that a similar process had taken place in Central Asia, and that all the popular languages in those regions, especially in Hindostan, would on examination be found to bear the same relation to the Sanscrit which the Italian and its sister tongues bear to the Latin. Before sufficient proof could be obtained, the inference was accepted as a doctrine, and I, among others, was taught to believe that most of the popular languages of Hindostan were immediate and legitimate descendants from the venerable Sanscrit. But such is not the case. Language, to be intelligible, must have two necessary constituents: parts of speech

and certain rules for their mutual connection ; in other words, it must have nouns, verbs, &c., as materials, and a grammar for their regular construction. Now, though I believe that the Noachidæ received both as a common inheritance, yet I also believe that their descendants had greater power to alter the rules of construction than to change the materials, just as the styles of architecture may be varied, although the materials, whether earth, wood, or stone, cannot be indefinitely multiplied.

Hence, nations which differ in the structure of their grammar, do agree to a great extent in the sameness of their vocabularies, without enabling us to prove that one was immediately descended from the other. But those languages, of which the grammars are only evolutions from principles embodied in older types, must be classed as immediate descendants from those which used the older form : now, this is the relationship which the Italian and its cognate dialects bear to the Latin. But the Sanscrit has no such legitimate and immediate descendant among the spoken languages of the East. Dr. Latham, whose authority is deservedly high on this subject, after briefly noticing the Sanscrit question, and sweeping off various mistakes upon the subject, comes to the following conclusion :—

“ I abstain from any positive expression of opinion as to the quarter from which the Sanscrit language originated. That the language which stands in the same relation to it as the Italian does to the Latin has yet to be discovered, I firmly believe; to which I may add, that, except in Asia Minor or Europe, I do not know where to look for it.”

Now, to make such a language as this, of which the stages of its gradual improvement are as utterly unknown as those of its decay and decomposition, a standard for measuring still living tongues, is one of those absurdities which men of learning and genius sometimes persuade the world to believe for a time.



ON THE ANTIQUITY
OF CERTAIN
WELSH MANUSCRIPTS.

ON this interesting subject, without drawing at present on my own resources, I shall content myself with briefly and distinctly giving the substance of a paper written by P. H. Hersart de la Villemarqué, the well-known and celebrated Breton scholar. It is entitled "Notices of the Principal Manuscripts of the Ancient Britons, with Facsimiles," and was read to the Institute of France, November, 1855, and printed last year. The author thus commences his work:—

"After the researches into the origin of our national language, it is not without interest to collect the memorials of dialects, which are supposed to be the best representatives of our ancient indigenous speech, the Celtic or Gallic.

"To make known such of these monuments as are still to be found in England, and which are the legitimate inheritance of some of our countrymen, as was remarked by M. Ampère, to range them according to their dates, to show where the manuscripts are to be found, to give some facsimiles, and on proper occasion to criticize the labours of editors, were the objects proposed to myself.

"If I am not mistaken, the documents examined by me form not only the base of Celto-British philology in its three branches—the Breton, the Cumric, and the Cornish, but are also necessary for the study of the whole Celtic group of dialects, and furnish indisputable elements for comparing them with the other Indo-European languages, and especially with the French.

"I range them under two heads.

"First, those which refer either to the time of the emigration and the establishment of the insular Britons in Armorican Gaul, or to the succeeding ages, from the sixth to the twelfth century, a period during which trustworthy writers and witnesses of facts represent the colony and the mother-country as

forming one people and speaking but one language, which was called in Latin 'Lingua Britannica.'

"Second, those which refer to medieval times—the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, when the communications between the continental and insular Britons became more and more rare, and was at last completely interrupted, so that the once one language split itself into three dialects: one which preserved the generic name, and is still spoken in our departments of Finisterre and the Côtes du Nord; another, which, under the name of Cumraeg, is still spoken in the Principality of Wales; and the third, which, up to the close of the eighteenth century, was spoken in Cornwall, but now exists only in written documents.

"To the first head belong—

- "1. Two written specimens preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, in a copy of the Poems of Juvenius.
- "2. A manuscript of the Bodleian Library, numbered xxxi., and named 'Codex Distinctus,' containing a portion of the *Grammar* of Eutychius and of Ovid's *Art of Love*, each with British glosses.
- "3. The Lichfield manuscripts in the Cathedral Library, known as the 'Book of St. Chad,' which contains the acts of donations to the church of Llandaff, partly drawn up in the Old British tongue.
- "4. A vocabulary, Latin-Breton, in the Bodleian Library, No. 572.

"Under the second head we have, among other important documents,—

- "1. A manuscript in the British Museum Cottonian Library, containing a *Vocabularium Cambricum*, or *Vocabula Cambrica*.
- "2. The Black Book of Chirk, in the library of Sir Robert Vaughan, of Rhug, Bart., which contains a copy of the Welsh Laws of Howel the Good, a British prince of the tenth century.
- "3. The 'Black Book of Caermarthen,' in the same library. A collection of poems by British bards who flourished in the sixth, and up to the close of the twelfth, century.
- "4. A collection of chronicles, historical or fabulous, belonging to the Cottonian Library, and named the Book of Bruts.
- "5. The 'Red Book of Jesus College, Oxford,' in which are found a series of the same chronicles; a collection of poems by Welsh bards during the middle ages and in older times; and of popular tales of chivalry, of romances, a grammar, &c.
- "6. The manuscript in the same library called the 'Book of Landevi Brevi,' of which the most important document is a translation of *Elucidarius*, a religious work ascribed to St. Anselm.
- "7. Different mysteries in the Cornish language, in the Bodleian.

"In ranking among the monuments of the second age of the language of the Ancient Britons, works which belong to the first by the date of their composition, such as a large number of poems contained in the 'Book of Caer-

marthen,' and in the 'Red Book of Hergest,' the 'Vocabula Britannica,' the 'Laws of Howel the Good,' &c., I have departed from the practice hitherto adopted on the subject; but I am justified in so doing by the rules of sound criticism. These works have not reached us as they were written by the authors, but they exhibit an orthography totally different from that used in primitive times. The new and corrupted orthography was introduced into the Principality of Wales somewhere about the twelfth century. They bear something like a similar relation to their originals which our modern editions of ancient French classics bear to the copies first put into circulation by their authors. The difference, however, is much greater; for the process pursued with our classics have only disguised certain roots, while the new system of Welsh orthography, with its numberless suppressions, changes, and reduplication of letters, has utterly disfigured the words. When the texts shall have been re-established in their original form, whether scientifically after the models still remaining, or, which would be still better, after the primitive manuscripts, which we may still hope to recover, their proper rank in the first age may safely be restored to them.

I.

"While waiting for this restoration, let us examine those remains which, by the mode of writing, their orthography and style are known to be anterior to the twelfth century; and let us commence with poetry, as the most skilful critics recommend the remains in verse as the most important objects of study, seeing versification is better calculated than prose to preserve the pronunciation, the orthography, and construction."

M. Villemarqué then proceeds to give an account of the three stanzas which Edward Llwyd found written in a page of a manuscript copy of the religious poem of Juvenus, and which Llwyd himself thus describes, *Arch. Brit.* p. 221:—

"The British words which follow belong to the dialect of the Britons of the northern parts of the island, now the kingdom of Scotland. I found them on the leaf of an old Latin manuscript, copied on vellum by an Irish hand, about a thousand years ago; and from the handwriting, and a few more words in the same dialect, I am convinced that the book was brought from the Alban, now Scotland, and can make a fair conjecture about the time when it was copied. I know not whether it is the dialect of the Britons of Strathclyde, or of the Gwithel Picti, for so the ancient Cumri named the northern race, who, by their daring courage and the strength of their country, saved themselves from the arms of Rome."

He then observes, that in Wales there were compositions

(not very dissimilar in style) of the Northern Britons, of Lomarch the aged, and of Merdin the Caledonian.

— “So it is likely that it is Albaneg, or the language of the Picti, the ancient inhabitants of the Alban, respecting which language the learned historians of Scotland say that there remains not a single written word; and owing to this complete ignorance respecting their language, some have rather doubted whether they were of British descent or from the shores of the Baltic, or from the country of the ‘High Elmen,’ now called Germans. If the dialect in which these verses are written was spoken by the Picti, they were undoubtedly Britons. But, however that may be, as the words are but few, and constitute the oldest and strangest written British I ever saw, I thought it right (although as yet I do not understand them) to print them for the gratification of those who are learned in the ancient Cumraeg. And, as there are no Irish types either at Oxford or anywhere else, I print them in the ancient Cumrie characters, which only slightly differ from the Irish.”

M. Villemarqué visited Cambridge on purpose to examine the original document, and has given a facsimile of the manuscript, which slightly differs from Llwyd’s edition, but is in one point certainly erroneous, as he has introduced the letter Z, equally unknown both to the Irish and British writers of ancient times. I have already given my own opinion in *Gomer*, Part II., and have to confess my mistake in trusting too much to the version and text of Edward Davies. In a second edition of *Gomer*, now preparing for the press, I shall again re-examine the question by the new light thrown upon it by the comments of M. Villemarqué, who found another fragment, written by the same hand and in the same dialect, in the same manuscript. This he pronounces very important, but has not yet made it public. He thus concludes his observations:—

“Before leaving Juvenus, I ought to indicate its *provenance*. The name ‘Price,’ written in large characters on the first leaf, informs us that it belonged to the family of a celebrated Welsh antiquary. We know that Sir John Price, one of King Henry the Eighth’s council in the Court of the Marches, was one of the commissioners appointed by that prince to visit the monasteries at the time of their dissolution. He collected a great number of manuscripts concerning the antiquities of his own country, and made use of some of them in his *Defence of the History of the Britons against Polydore*

Virgil, which was published after his death in 1553. Among his books this Juvenecus was found. There is some reason to believe that he found it in some abbey on the borders of Scotland, where the Ancient Britons maintained their independence and language up to the tenth century."

2. M. Villemarqué next examines the British glosses of Latin words found in manuscript copies of Eutychius and Ovid's *Art of Love*, in the Bodleian, of which I have given a sufficient account in *Gomer*.

3. He describes the Book of St. Chad, preserved at present in the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, and known also by the name of "Codex Ecclesiæ Lichfieldensis." This celebrated volume originally belonged to the church of Llandaff, whence it seems to have been stolen. Dr. Davies often quotes it in his *Dictionary*. Wanley described and quoted some parts, which was fortunate, as the book has suffered mutilations from a careless binder. Llwyd translated these into modern Welsh, as may be seen in his *Archæologia Britannica*, page 226.

The Rev. William Rees, in the year 1840, took from this volume seven passages, which he added, with facsimiles, to his edition of the *Liber Landavensis*.

It is much to be regretted that no attempts, beyond the highly laudable exertions of the ingenious publisher himself, have ever been made to illustrate the charters contained in this precious monument of British history.

I have every reason to believe, that, although rewritten and copied into one volume in the twelfth century, many of the charters contain specimens of Cumraeg as it was written in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and that these fragments alone can furnish the means of restoring to their primitive forms all the works ascribed to the authors of that period which have reached our eyes only in their disguised forms. The Cumraeg inserted in the charters is so clear and intelligible that it is difficult to account for Edward Llwyd's observation that it was—"Brittanica lingua, propter vetustatem jam paucis intellecta," except we suppose that ordinary readers could not recognize their own language except in a

phonetic form. Some aid may also be derived from a Latin-British vocabulary, probably written by an Armorican teacher, who undertook to teach his pupil how he was to acquire the knowledge of the Latin language.

It is to be found in the Bodleian, and was drawn up probably about the commencement of the seventh century.

And some help may be derived from a Cornish vocabulary of the ninth century, transcribed and partly changed by some writer in the twelfth century.

II.

- The first document to be ranged under this head is the copy of the Laws of Howel the Good, now in the library of Rhug, of which M. Villemarqué gives the following account:—

“THE BLACK BOOK OF CHIRK.—The late Aneurin Owen, who was employed by the government to give a new edition of the Welsh Laws, and to translate the same into the English language, was, as I believe, the first who mentioned the Black Book of Chirk. He says it was the oldest manuscript of the Laws of Howel, who died A.D. 954, and took it as the basis of his text.

“‘The copier,’ writes Mr. Owen, ‘might have been a monk, and seems to have been more conversant with other languages than with the Cumraeg, and to this cause may be referred the innumerable mistakes committed by him. It must also be allowed, that at the time the copy was made the orthography of the Cumraeg was far from being fixed. Almost from the commencement we see the hand changed, and articles of the law transcribed with an orthography differing materially from that of the regular copier; from which circumstance it is evident that neither of them accurately copied the original placed before them, but wrote the words according to their own fancy. It is difficult to fix precisely the date of the manuscript, but it may be safely referred to the commencement of the twelfth century. It formed a part of the Hengwrt collection, and was inscribed by Sir Robert Vaughan—*Y Llyfr du o Wael.*”

M. Villemarqué, after praising the accuracy of Mr. Owen’s translation, adds:—

“I am sorry Mr. Owen did not publish a facsimile, in order to convince strangers that he was justified in fixing the age of the manuscript. According to my own opinion, he might have referred it to the end of the eleventh

century; not only the handwriting, but the language of the text, which describes the privileges of the men of Arvon, seems to me to belong to that period."

Unfortunately no portion of the Laws as written originally in the age of Howel the Good is to be found at present in Great Britain. A search made at Rome, whither they were sent to procure the Pope's sanction, might perhaps have a better result.

THE BLACK BOOK OF CAERMARTHEN.

This is the most celebrated of all the Welsh manuscripts. It is commonly supposed to have been written by the monks of the priory of Carmarthen. After becoming the property of the cathedral of St. David's, to which on the dissolution of the priory it was transferred, it passed into the hands of Sir John Price, a great collector of similar documents, and finally, in the course of the seventeenth century, formed part of the library of the Vaughans, then residing at their mansion of Hengwrt.

It is a collection of poems written on vellum. It is a small quarto, and contains fifty-five pages. It was preserved with almost superstitious reverence. The owner made it accessible to no one, and even his friends were not allowed to examine it. One of them, the antiquary Edward Llwyd, was not more favoured than others.

He says:—

"I have been admitted to a transient view for a few hours of the Hengwrt collections, and the oldest Welsh manuscript I saw there was the Black Book of Caermarthen. It is a quarto of fifty-four leaves, containing poems of the sixth century by Merdin, Taliessin, &c. The former part of this book is in a large fair character, and seems considerably older than the latter; and the latter part might possibly have been transcribed by that noted bard Cynddelw Prydydd Mawr, or at least in his time, which was about the year 1150. I am aware that Dr. Davies places this poet ninety years later. But in MS. page 52, I find that he wrote an elegy on the death of Madoc, son of Meredith Prince of Powys, which happened in the year 1158.—*Arch.* page 225."

In another place, page 261, Llwyd says in Latin, while describing his own MS. copy of Llywarch Hen's work,—

"Whether the works of the poet, which are copied in the Black Book of Caermarthen, now to be found in the Hengwrt Library, are the same as mine, or whether they are partly the same or altogether different, is unknown to me, since I have never had an opportunity of examining the books in that collection. The present owner, Sir H. Vaughan, both a learned and courteous gentleman, and also most friendly to me, repeatedly promised to grant me permission; but afterwards, being, as I suppose, advised not to do so by some people who were rather bad politicians than men of learning, he withdrew his promise."

"These politicians," proceeds M. Villemarqué, "were, of course, afraid — that the Cambrians might find in the Black Book, songs full of regrets and hopes calculated to interfere with the regular course of established order in the country. And perhaps their fears were not completely without some foundation. A considerable portion of the collection consists of enthusiastic aspirations for national independence; besides that, they breathe a spirit of religious mystery, and are ascribed to the principal poets of the British race—to Taliessin, to Merdin or Merlin, and Llywarch the Aged. Of these the first two were regarded by the popular feeling as bearing a sacred character, and were esteemed the prophets and seers of the nation. In opening the book, at the very first page I find them treating of the destinies of their country, and expressing their patriotic wishes and hopes with tones and accents worthy of the priests of Belen, the worshippers of fire and of the god of war."

Here M. Villemarqué gives several specimens, and then adds—

"We can easily conceive that this imperturbable confidence, expressed in verses full of energy, which are found plentifully in other poems in the same collection, where the bards never cease to predict a great political revolution to the Britons, was calculated to make due impression, even in the seventeenth century, on those who were acquainted with the contents of the Black Book, and rendered them reluctant to publish them.

"At present all motives for such reserve have passed away, and both politics and literature can cordially join in calling for full publicity."

After explaining in detail the subject of the principal poems, M. Villemarqué adds,—

"I must not forget to add two pieces, very important for fixing the date of the manuscript. The first was written in the year 1104, and contains an elegy

on the death of Howel, the son of Goronwy, slain that year by the Normans, in the Vale of Towy. The second, in the year 1159, and is also an elegy on a Welsh chieftain, Madoc, son of Meredith, Prince of Powys, who reigned from 1133 to 1159.

"If I am not mistaken, the handwriting of the more recent portion of the Black Book may be ascribed to the latter epoch, and the more ancient part to either the end of the eleventh or commencement of the twelfth century. An examination of the facsimiles v., vi., and vii., will enable every one to form his own opinion. I am surprised that they were never made public before: the collection is well worth the trouble. The pieces which it contains were published in the year 1801, in the first volume of the *Myfyrian Archaeology*, by the patriotic tradesman, Owen Jones of Myfyr, aided by two friends; and some of them have been translated by various authors into English, and by myself into French; but I have acquired the certainty that they were printed from transcripts which were not taken immediately from the original text in the Black Book, and that there is great need to correct them according to it, and to reprint them with all the various readings. A new edition of the whole Myfyrian works, in a more critical spirit, is highly desirable, and would completely justify the commendations bestowed on that collection by Sharon Turner, in the excellent work by which he proved the authenticity of the Ancient British poems, and by M. Fauriel in his *Literary and Philosophical Annals*. Until this republication takes place, the *Archæology of Wales* ought not to be consulted, except with due discretion. It has been thought of: the venerable and learned Archdeacon of Cardigan has promised such an edition; and the noble proprietors of Rhug will, by throwing their library open to him, acquire fresh titles to the gratitude of the scientific world."

M. Villemarqué then proceeds to examine the state of the manuscripts of the Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous work, and of the chronicles in which the various events, more or less immediately connected with the history of the British race, are recorded, from the first supremacy of the Saxons to the extinction of the royal race by the death of Llywellyn. A series of these, both in the Latin and Welsh language, exist in the Hengwrt, Bodleian, and Cottonian libraries, from which might be selected, valuable materials for illustrating the character, the history, the laws, religion, the language, and literature, of not only the Britons, but also of other races, from the expulsion of the Romans to the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The editors of the *Myfyrian Archaeology* were not in a posi-

tion to give a correct representation of the written records of the Cumri, as by far the most important and valuable collection of Cumric manuscripts, locked up in the Hengwrt library, were unknown to them. Now that access has been given to a distinguished foreigner, it is to be hoped that a native scholar, well qualified to examine critically the contents of the 168 manuscripts still to be found at Rhug, will not be refused the same permission.

M. Villemarqué finally embodies, in the conclusion of his invaluable notices, the following summary :—

“ This notice of the manuscripts preserved in Great Britain, where the language of the Ancient Britons can best be studied, ought naturally to end with the discovery of printing. If the Press has hitherto been tardy in multiplying copies of them, and not always faithful, as has been found by me, it will have to amend its tardiness and want of accuracy.

“ An intelligent selection of the texts in verse and prose, which I have reviewed as they are to be found in the valuable manuscripts described by me and arranged according to their date, will mark a new era in the study of Celtic philology.

“ There will be there found, for the sixth and seventh century, the poems, in an old British language, preserved in the Cambridge Juvenius.

“ For the eighth and first half of the ninth century, the texts of Eutychius and Ovid, with their accompanying glosses.

“ For the second half of the ninth century, the words inserted in Cumraeg, in the charters contained in the Lichfield Gospel of St. Chad, and in the *Liber Llanfawensis*.

“ For the tenth and eleventh century, the vocabularies of that period.

“ For the twelfth, the Cornish Vocabulary, the Laws of Howel the Good, and a complete collection of poems.

“ For the thirteenth, the Ancient British chronicles, both fabulous and historical, which the corresponding Latin texts render so valuable.

“ For the fourteenth century, the Mabinogi and Arthurian romances, and the translations of religious or moral treatises popular in that age, of great use as vocabularies.

“ Finally, for the fifteenth century, a literal translation into metrical Cumraeg of the psalms and hymns contained in the *Officium Beatae Virginis*, without speaking of other poems of the middle ages having fixed dates, and taken as much as possible from copies coeval with their authors; and the whole to be accompanied with facsimiles calculated to justify, by the science of palaeography, the conclusions of philology.

“ In such a publication, the words and phrases of the language, at eras

well defined, will be seen in their proper light, confined, for the most part, within the framework of fixed metre and rhyme. They will illustrate each other, and, often translated by authors of respectable antiquity, will allow no room for arbitrary interpretations. Lexicographers and grammarians would thus have a considerable mass of various and choice samples more within the reach of true criticism than the loose materials, adulterated and falsified, which have been too hastily used in these later times, and may thus at last establish on sure foundations the philology of the Celtic languages."

I cannot better end the present paper than by translating from the Welsh Preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, which Edward Llwyd addressed to his countrymen the Cumri, his opinions respecting the alphabet used by the Cumri of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and which he asserts was identical with the Irish and early Saxon alphabets:—

"But because we have not used these letters for the last seven or eight hundred years, and because the people of Loiger have lately used them in printing a few books in the old Saxon language, they claim them as their own, and call them Saxon letters. On the other side, the Irish, because they have used them in every age up to this day, assert that from the first they were Irish letters; and, as their nation sent many religious missionaries to preach the Gospel to the old Saxons, they at the same time taught them to write. No one of these two people considered that the old Britons, up to a, comparatively speaking, late period, also used these letters. The author of the Catalogue of Northern Books (Wanley), in the Latin preface to his book—after exchanging a few letters with me, because he had heard that I had said, that we had a better claim to the letters than either the Irishman or the Saxon—has only said in that preface, that the Saxons had not received these letters either from the Irish or from the Britons, but from the monk Augustine, which is equivalent to an assertion that both the Britons and the Irish were taught the use of these letters by the Saxons. This, the gentleman (as if his word was sufficient warrant for the fact) declares, without condescending to prove this assertion by ancient authorities, or attempting himself to discuss the question—even without noticing that I had written to him, to say that these letters were clearly to be seen in the church of Cadwalader in Mona, on the inscribed tombstone of Cadvan King of Gwenet, and that Cadvan had fought the battle of Bangor Iscoed against the Saxons and the monk Augustine. A similar proof of ungentlemanly conduct and impartiality was shown by the author of the *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium* (Hicks), who obstinately asserted that the British words found by me in ancient manuscripts, both in the Bodleian and elsewhere, were old Saxon. It was impossible for him not to know that the words adduced were British; for, although he does not under-

stand either the Cumraeg or the Gaeleg, he well knew that they were not Saxon, Scandinavian, or Norman; and he even confesses, in another part of the same book, that one of the books mentioned by me once belonged to the church of Llandaff.

"I did not mention these facts in my English preface, that I might not stir up more indignation and anger than such a roguish attempt to steal our property is worth; but I have made it manifest to all by showing the mark, to whom the goods belong."

It may prove useful to some to read Edward Llwyd's observations upon the absence from the Celtic alphabets, of the Irish and Welsh, of the six letters, K, J, Q, W, Y, Z.

1. The letter K never occurs in our oldest British manuscripts; but being afterwards introduced by the Normans, who made frequent use of it in their old French, I find that about the year 1200, K was almost constantly used in the initial syllables, and C in the termination.
2. J consonantal, was never used by the Cumric, although it was frequently so pronounced in Cornish words.
3. Q, though never used by the Welsh and Irish, was yet received by the Cornish, although nothing so much used by them as by the Britons of France. It seems, however, to have been very anciently used in Cornwall in the same manner as in the French language and the Armoric, viz., Qu as K; for I have seen the Ancient British *cunetam* (*cuneddaf*) inscribed on a stone at Golval, near Pensans, Quenetav.
4. W occurs nowhere in the ancientest Welsh manuscripts; but about the year 1200, I find it sometimes used as a V consonant; but the most common pronunciation of it then was that which is still retained by the Welsh and Cornish, namely, both as the English W and OO.
5. X, though used by the Roman writers to express British and Gallic names, we cannot find, by any British or Scottish writings now extant, that we had any use of that letter in our own languages.

N.B.—The X at the end of proper names, as Dum-

norig, was probably used to make a nominative case for Duvnorig, as *lex pax* for the roots, *pac, leg*.

6. Y, from what I have hitherto observed, was not at all used before the Norman Conquest, if so early, although found with various powers in old Cornish words.

N.B.—I must not here omit that the ancients seldom or never altered, as is done in these later centuries, the initial letters in writing. They left that wholly to the experienced reader's pronunciation.

To conclude, it is but right to quote M. Villemarqué's opinion about the existence of the Bretonne manuscript, which, as Geoffrey of Monmouth asserted, served to enable him to compose a more authentic history of the kings of the Britons than it was possible for another writer to draw up.

Before all the advantages derivable from a critical comparison of the original Latin with various Celtic translations of the *Historia Britonum* could be fully secured, "it would be necessary," says M. Villemarqué, "to recover the text in the old Breton language of that book which Geoffrey of Monmouth assures us that he took for his model, or, at least, an authentic copy of the same document as reproduced and dressed up by Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, who is supposed to have brought the original from Brittany into England. The existence both of the one and of the other seems so well attested by medieval records, that it is not possible to doubt the fact. I found one more proof to be added to the very impartial testimony of Gaiman the Norman, contemporary with Geoffrey, and that is in the Red Book of Hergest. It is the Welsh translator of the *Historia Britonum* who furnished me with it."

"The Latin writer, after stating, no doubt most wrongfully, that the Cumri of his time were degenerate Britons, 'degeneratia Britannica nobilitate,' who called themselves no longer 'Britones sed Gualenses,' thus concludes:—'As to the history of those princes who have since ruled in the Principality of Wales, I leave Caradoc of Llancarvan, my coeval, to write it and the history of the Saxon kings, to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon; but I charge them not to speak of the British kings, as they

have not in their possession that book in the British language which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought from Brittany, and which I have translated into Latin.

"The truth is brought out without ambiguity in the Welsh version, where the Archdeacon of Oxford is said to have translated the book brought from Brittany from the 'Brytanec' into the 'Kymraec,' whence Geoffrey undertook to translate the same into Latin."

Translate it he certainly did not; but upon the traditions of the Britons of Damnonium and of Armorica, respecting the long-continued struggle between the Celts and Saxons in Britain, which had probably been worked up into something—like a laudatory narrative of the deeds achieved by the chiefs of the Loigerais, to whom both the insular and continental Britons belonged, he built up his mendacious work with the scarcely concealed purpose of disparaging the Cumri and of exalting the Loigerais, whom the race then dominant in England was supposed to represent, but, above all, to represent the Church of Rome, and especially the Pope, as the sole authors and guardians of British Christianity.

These objects are all, however, held subordinate to one Cumric feeling, which Geoffrey had inherited from his forefathers. This was, that the whole island ought to be governed by one monarch, from whatever tribe or race he was to be selected.

The Cumri, after they had lost the 'Hymnonia, retained their political maxim, "Unbennaeth ir Inis," "the sole sovereignty of the island," and held that the monarch of the whole island was predestined to extend his authority over distant lands.

This was also the doctrine of the Britons in Alban until a history was invented for Scotland, as wild a travesty as the *Historia Britonum* itself—worse, however, in one respect, that it was invented for the express purpose of justifying subjects for violently putting their sovereigns to death.

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